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JUNE 1998

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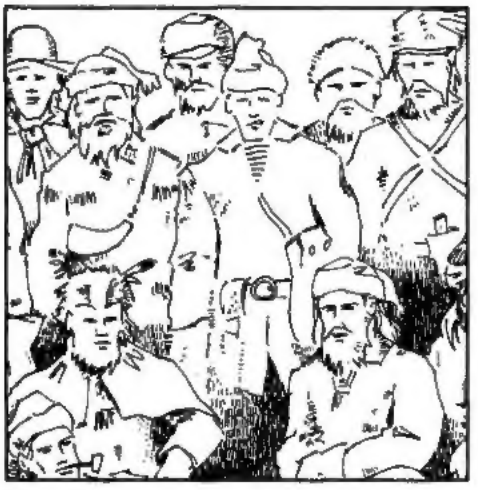

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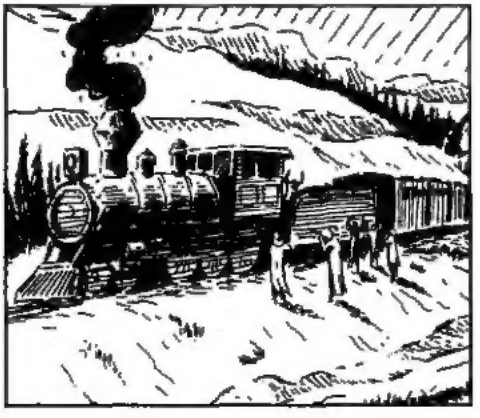

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From the Editor

Good day, eh.

Ask your average American what they know of Canada and you'll probably get a shrugged-shoulder mumble and a blank stare. Not that I'm any different, mind you.

Like most folks, those who have watched a few hockey games, I can sing the opening verse to the Canadian national anthem and fill in the rest with melodious humming. (That ain't saying much, the only songs I really know by heart are "Anchors Aweigh" and Woody Guthrie's "Pretty Boy Floyd.") Other than that, I'm about as well-versed in Canada as the next guy.

So, this issue we are gong to take a trip to the cold, lonesome reaches of the Canadian West. Like our very own, familiar West, Canada had its share of fascinating and courageous characters. We are going to visit briefly with a few of them, from voyageur David Thompson, who championed the hunt for the fashionable beaver pelt for the Hudson's Bay Company; to Kootenai Brown and Matthew Begbie, scout turned conservationist and frontier circuit judge, respectively.

There are so many layers to Canadian frontier history that it would be quite impossible to strip them all away here. In researching this issue, I became fascinated with the tales of the Metis, the mixed-blood, violently proud settlers of the Northwest regions; Louis Riel, the young revolutionary who rallied against the government; the mass exodus to Canada led by Sitting Bull after the battle of Little Bighorn; and the relationship between the North West Mounted Police and their charges.

I highly suggest acquainting yourself with some Canadian history. In the meantime, maybe someone will send me the entire lyrics to the Canadian national anthem. I can always use a new tune for the shower.

Whenever a strange bit of information comes across my desk (and it does almost daily) I try to share it with you fine folks. This one is a real head scratcher, and kinda unsettling, too.

While perusing the latest edition of the *New Encyclopedia Britannica*, 15th Edition, Wild Bunch researcher and author Dan Buck noticed that the entries for Butch Cassidy, Sundance Kid, and the Wild Bunch were factually wrong.

The *New Encyclopedia Brittanica* misspelled the names of Harry Longabaugh, Ethel Place, George Currie, and the town of Johnnie, Nevada; related tales of false Cassidy-Sundance robberies in Chile and Peru; expanded the Wild Bunch membership to almost 200; mis-labeled Cassidy as a "gunslinger"; placed San Vicente, Bolivia, near the Concordia Tin Mines (nowhere close); and added a year to Butch and Sundance's death by stating they were killed in 1909 (the San Vicente gunfight occurred in November 1908).

Now this is pretty small cheese, granted. These kind of mistakes happen all the time (don't try to count all the times *True West* has messed up since 1953; you'll get dizzy).

Dan Buck sent a letter of introduction to the editors of *Encyclopedia Britannica*, offering corrections to their entries, and a list of sources to consult in the future. What he received in return was less than helpful.

The editors of the encyclopedia responded that the spelling of names, specifically Longabaugh's, "is not an issue." They continued by justifying their entries this way: "...We do not evaluate original research. As *Britannica* is an international, general-interest reference source, our articles must reflect the authority, comprehensiveness, and accuracy of the traditional knowledge of our culture. Any changes we would make to our articles would have to await the independent evaluation of historians."

So much for trying to set the record straight, I reckon. If you have any idea what the folks at *Britannica* were getting at, let me know. I'm still confused.

Marcus Huff

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Truly Western

Go West, Young Man!

In your editorial (March 1998 *True West*) you asked what made eastern folk interested in the West. Well, I have been interested for many years in the adventures and lives of the western legends and heroes. The last few years I have had the opportunity to travel in Colorado, Wyoming, Arizona, Texas, and New Mexico. It has been wonderful to see places I had only read about.

While visiting friends in Florida last Thanksgiving, I was recommended to read *True West*. This I did and you have me hooked. I shall await with eager anticipation for each month's issue.—*W. Wiltshire, Essex, England.*

Editor's Note: You came to the colonies and neglected to visit Oklahoma? My friend, some would argue you missed the "True West." Next time you come across the big pond you stop in and see us, we're not much on high tea but we've got some coffee that'll curl your toes.

East Lovin' the West

After reading your comments about the interest that people from the East have about Old West history, I thought I would share my thoughts on the matter.

There were plenty of events to read about in eastern history. But you have to be pretty dedicated to find material. When the East was the frontier news, it was not available like it was even one hundred years later. Newspapers were scarce that could report an incident. No photos, no telegraphs. It took months for information to reach a population center.

I think the availability of contemporary reports and especially pictures add a great deal to the appeal of the Old West.—*Tom King, via the Internet.*

Olive's Oatman, Arizona

I was delighted to see the article "The Captivity of Olive Oatman" by Roy P. O'Dell and Barbara Hegne in the April issue of *True West*.

They included material about Olive's later years and where she is buried...things I had not been able to find while doing research for my manuscript about the Oatmans. (The Oatmans were on the same wagon train as my aunt's grandparents, the Whelans, before continuing on by themselves.)

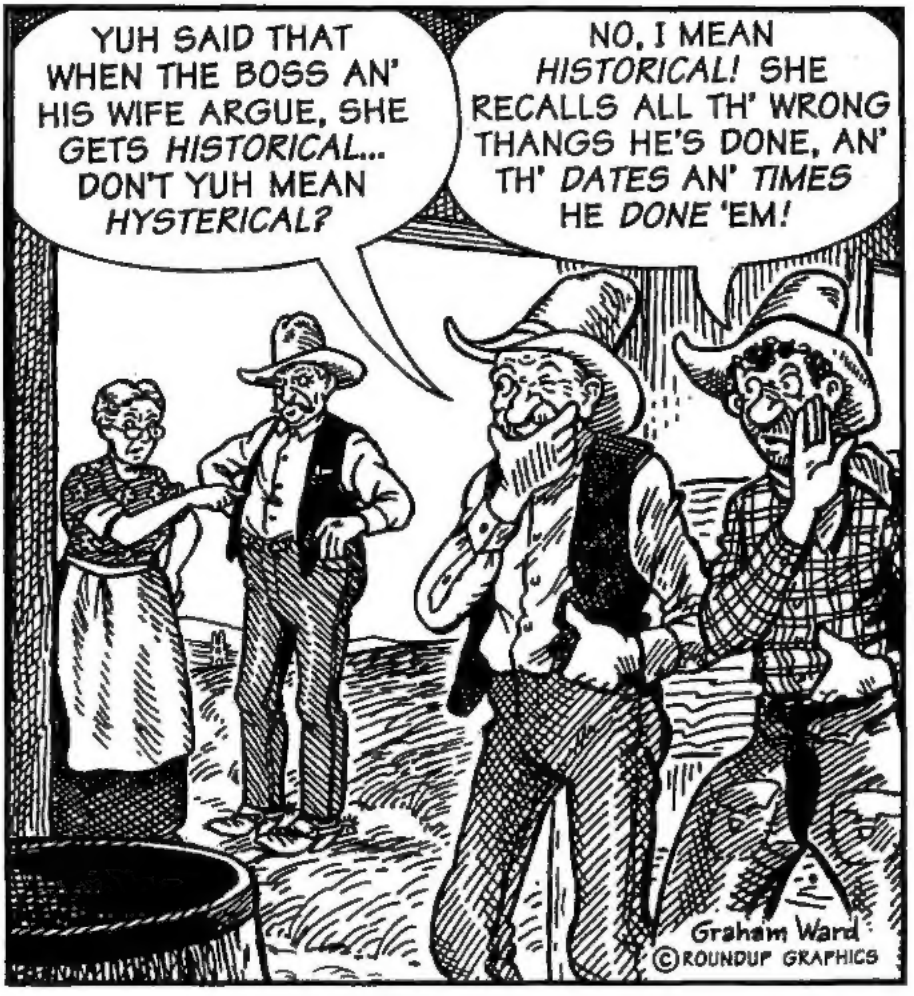
Your readers might be interested in learning that Oatman, Arizona, is named for Olive. The Mohaves hid her there when they thought the white men might see her and come looking for her.—*Willah Weddon, Stockbridge, Michigan.*

Educating Students to the West

I have been meaning to do this for some time and your web site finally makes it easy. I have enjoyed your magazines for a number of years; however, the real purpose of writing you is to thank you for the quality and interest level that you and your staff has maintained in your magazines.

For the past three years we have used your magazines in a Western History course at our high school. The students have really enjoyed the articles and even the occasional arguments between authors and history buffs over events and people. The articles and arguments help history come alive for the students and have contributed greatly to the creation of a whole new generation of western history buffs. Thank you and your staff for making our work

SADDLE PALS **By Graham Ward**


YUH SAID THAT WHEN THE BOSS AN' HIS WIFE ARGUE, SHE GETS HISTORICAL... DON'T YUH MEAN HYSTERICAL?
NO, I MEAN HISTORICAL! SHE RECALLS ALL TH' WRONG THANGS HE'S DONE, AN' TH' DATES AN' TIMES HE DONE 'EM!
Graham Ward
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in education that much easier and effective.—*Gary Benson, La Jara, Colorado.*

Let's Just Get Along

I read with amusement, your accurate description of that unusual genus, "Westicus Historicaus." You are right. We are a strange breed, but why is it that some of us spend as much time snapping at other members of the group, meanwhile forgetting that our job is to get at the truth, or as close as is possible after all this time?

Which brings me to the next page of your April issue and "Boyer vs Terfertiller." One man [sic] claimed that he attended a literary conference at Phoenix and at that conference, Casey Terfetiller, author of the latest (and probably best) book on Wyatt Earp, acted in an impolite manner, laughing and being sarcastic with the man representing Glenn Boyer, author of earlier Earp books. I am disappointed if Mr. Terfetiller actually did show his feelings in such an overt manner. What is it about the Tombstone controversy that brings out this side of people?

I wish that all historians could be a little more humble. No matter how hard we try we will never know the whole story. How can we possibly get the whole story after a hundred years have elapsed? We should strive for the truth but remember we will never quite reach it. Why don't we Westicus Historicaus types just try to help each other out and not carry our disagreements to the point of belligerence?

Meanwhile, I am glad you are maintaining a neutral attitude. Keep up the good work.—*Janaloo Hill, Shakespeare, New Mexico.*

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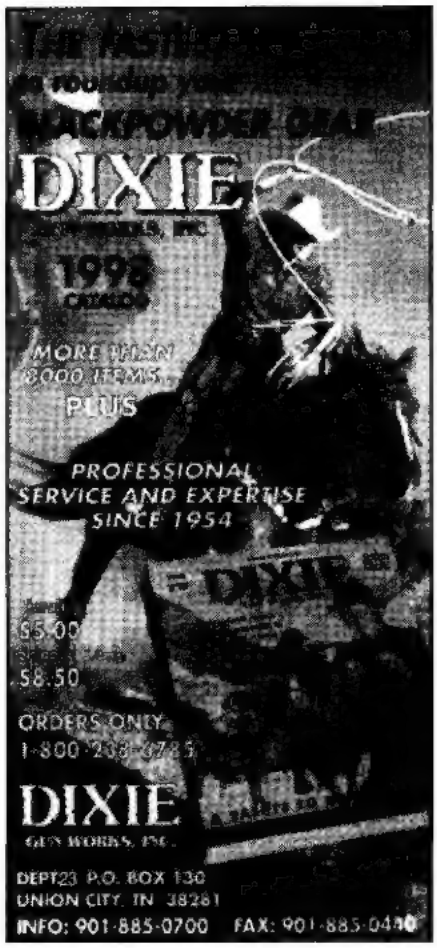

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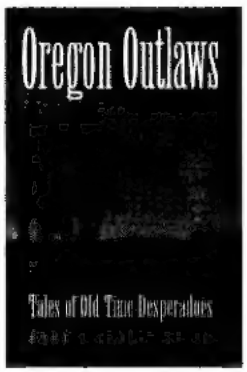
Oregon Outlaws



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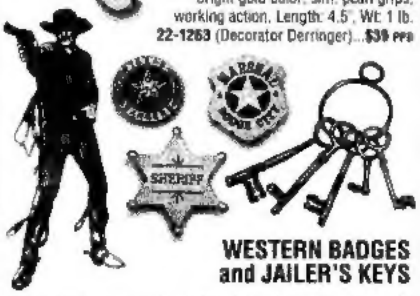

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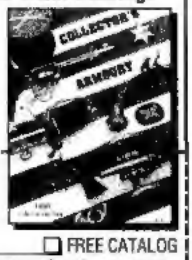

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ROUNDUP

A Treasury of Central Texas Forts

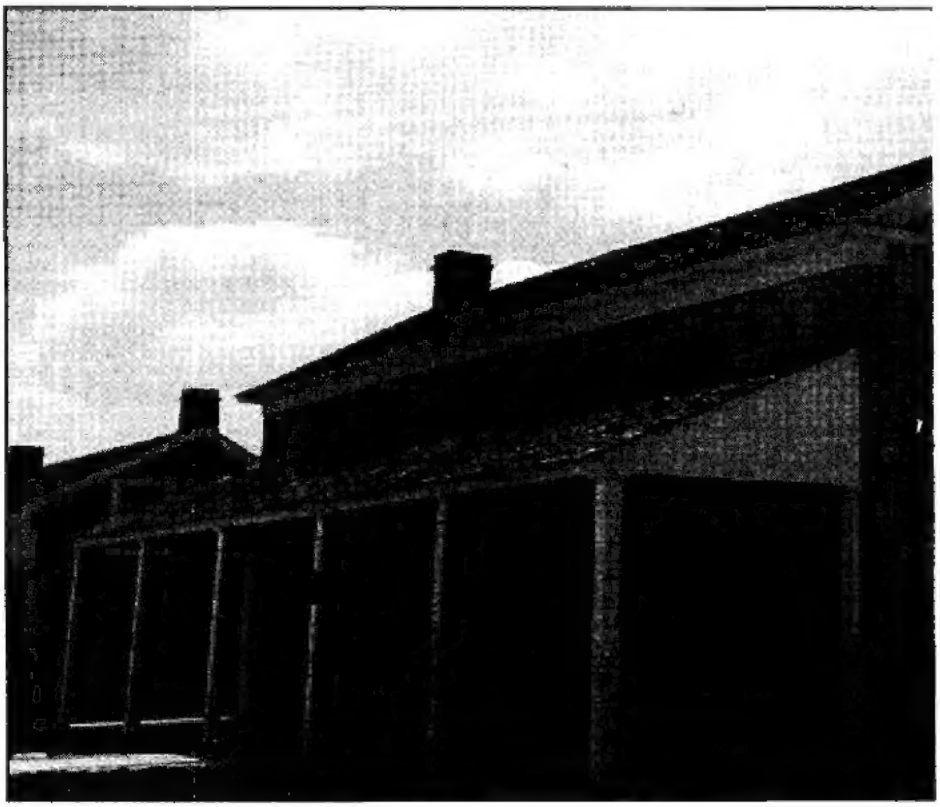
By Dot Ferguson Hatfield

Like a loving mother, the city of San Angelo, Texas, wraps itself around old Fort Concho and embraces the frontier post as her favorite child. Carefully groomed and restored, this National Historic Landmark is presented as the best preserved frontier fort in America. Owned and operated by the city of San Angelo since the 1930s, Fort Concho now serves as a tourist attraction and as a historical meeting place for large groups and conventions.

Fort Concho began in 1867 and was located at the confluence of the North and Middle Concho rivers. Game was plentiful, fishing was good, and there was a fine supply of good water. It was the perfect site to build a fort to protect settlers from Indian and bandit attacks. Fort Concho was regimental headquarters for the Fourth and Tenth Cavalry, the Eleventh and Sixteenth Infantry. The buffalo soldiers of the Fourth went down in military history as being the most effective soldiers on the Texas frontier.

Today, on this forty-acre site, you can see sixteen of the original limestone buildings, five reconstructed buildings, and one stabilized ruin. On the parade ground you can often view historical reenactors in authentic costumes going through drills. You can also see children running to the one-room schoolhouse for classes.

In a program sponsored by the



Fort Concho Officer's Quarters.

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San Angelo Junior League and the Fort Concho Museum, modern fourth grade students are invited to experience a school day of the past. Wearing simple costumes, the students write on slate boards, read from McGuffey readers, and study under one teacher. This three-hour program is so popular with fourth graders that reservations must be made well in advance. Over 20,000 Texas school children have taken part in this educational experience.

The schoolhouse (also used as a chapel) was the last building constructed at Fort Concho, and special classes were held there for frontier soldiers who could not read or write. Carefully restored, only minor changes have been made to the lighting and heating. In the back of the room there is a water bucket and dipper for the students, but the dipper is not shared as it was in the old days. Styrofoam cups seem out of place, but necessary by modern health codes.

Fort Concho's original hospital building was damaged by fire in 1911 and was later demolished. It has been reconstructed from the original plans and houses the Robert Johnson Museum of Frontier Medicine.

Author's photo

Other buildings open to inspection are the Commissary Storehouse, the Quartermaster's Storehouse, Headquarters, Ruffini Building, Barracks, and the Mess Hall.

Most impressive is the long line of majestic buildings creating "Officer's Row." Side by side stand nine limestone quarters, as beautiful today as a century ago. Built by German-Texas artisans, the simple beauty of these structures has developed with passing time, and today present a unique glimpse at frontier history.

Built in 1870, Officer's Quarters Number 3 is furnished with authentic furniture and accessories, and is open to visitors. The building was home to famous Indian fighter and Fort Concho commanding officer General Ranald Slidell Mackenzie, and was frequented by the likes of Wesley Merritt, Will Shafter, and Benjamin Grierson.

For twenty-two years Fort Concho was the frontier's finest military post, but passing time moved the frontier westward and the fort declined in importance and need. On June 20, 1889, the flag came down and the soldiers moved on.

Located in western central Texas, Fort McKavett was founded in 1852 to protect emigrants traveling to California and to deter Indian raids.

Fort McKavett was built on a hill overlooking the San Saba River valley, close to natural springs, the local source of water. Gardens were kept by the soldiers to supplement their rations and to keep scurvy at bay. Water was hauled from the springs, bathing was enjoyed there, and soldiers fished the waters in their spare time.

Sixteen buildings are restored and ruins of several more remain. The grand ruins of the commanding officer's quarters stand like a forgotten castle. Fire gutted the building in 1942.

Restored buildings include officer's quarters, schoolhouse, bakery, barracks, and hospital. It is evident why General William Tecumseh

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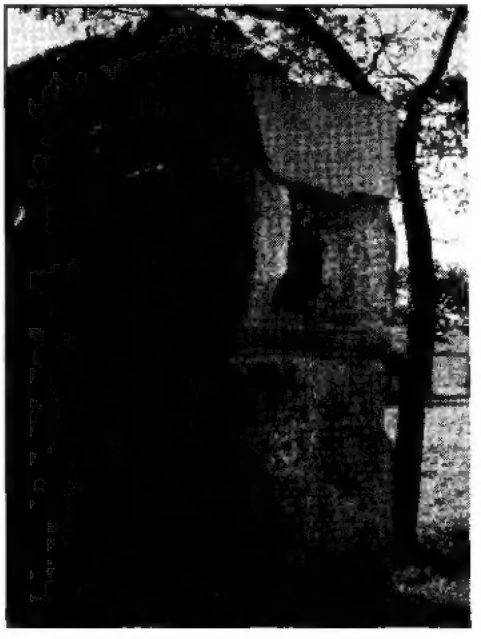
Sherman referred to Fort McKavett as "the prettiest post in Texas."

The restored hospital building serves as a gift shop. A short walk leads to "Government Springs" and a lime kiln where soldiers burned lime for mortar.

The military leaders who served at Fort McKavett wrote history. The post was at times home to Augustus May, Ranald Mackenzie, Will Shafter, and John Bullis.

For thirty years Fort McKavett soldiers protected citizens, fought Indians, and brought peace to the frontier. Then, once more, the need for forts declined. By 1883 the soldiers marched out and the post was closed for good.



These ruins at Fort McKavett frame the

But unlike Fort Concho, Fort McKavett did not die when the soldiers left. Local civilians moved into the officer's quarters, barracks, and other buildings. The post sutler, Sam Wallick, remained on the post and operated a general merchandise store. Soon a hotel, doctor's office, Masonic hall, saloons, and a stage line to San Angelo were established.

The post school, which was started in 1877, continued to serve the local children. John Warren Hunter taught there in the 1880s and his son, J. Marvin Hunter,

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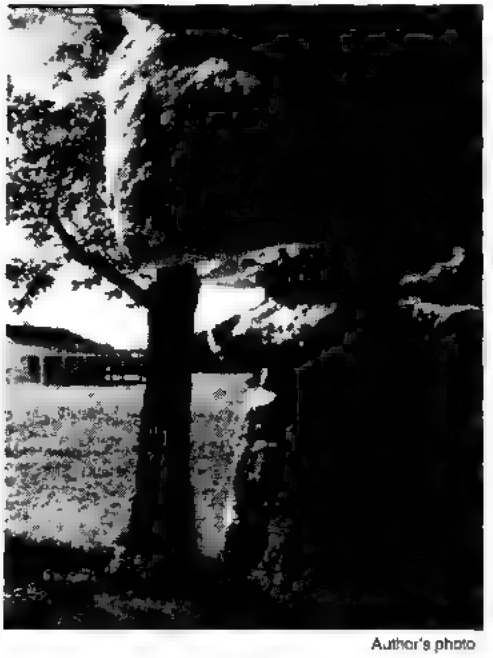
attended classes in the fort's schoolhouse.

The historic community of Fort McKavett later fell victim to the bypassing major highways, which provided better transportation but led to a decline in rural population. In 1967 the old fort was declared a historic site. Located off the beaten path, Fort McKavett is still considered to be the prettiest post in Texas.

Fort Concho is located within the city of San Angelo, Texas, on Highway 87. Fort Concho is open Tuesday-Saturday, 10 AM to 5 PM, Sunday 1 PM to 5 PM. For details on admission or any other information call (915) 657-4444 or write: Fort Concho National Historic Landmark, 630 South Oaks, San Angelo, Texas 76903.



Author's photo

old barracks buildings.

Fort McKavett is located near Junction, Texas. Fort McKavett is open seven days a week, 8 AM to 5 PM. For details on addmission or any other information call (915) 396-2358 or write. Fort McKavett State Historical Park, Box 867, Fort McKavett, Texas 76841.

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The 1998 Rendezvous of the National Association For Outlaw and Lawman History, Inc. (NOLA) will be held in Tucson, Arizona, July 22-25.

The NOLA Rendezvous Tucson will feature appearances by Arizona artist and author Bob Boze Bell, Casey Tefertiller, author of *Wyatt Earp: The Man Behind the Legend*, and California outlaw and lawman historian and author John Boessenecker. Bus tours to Tombstone and Bisbee, Arizona, are included in the Rendezvous registration fee of $85.

National and local publishers, collectors, and booksellers will be represented as well. To reserve a display table for western-related products, contact Bob Ernst, Route 3, Box 634, Stillwater, OK 74074.

The NOLA Rendezvous will be held at the Tucson Holiday Inn, call (800) 659-8808 for more information and to make reservations.

The 1998 Rendezvous of the Western Outlaw-Lawman History Association will be held in Raton, New Mexico, July 29-August 1.

The WOLA Rendezvous is an annual meeting, offering an opportunity for members and interested parties a chance to get together and listen to lectures and group discussions on Western History.

WOLA's gathering in Raton will feature appearances by southwestern historian Leon Metz, Wyatt Earp biographer Casey Tefertiller, and Wild Bunch researchers and authors Dan Buck and Anne Meadows.

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THE ROCKY MOU

SOUTHERN ALBERTA'S COWBOY CAVALRY

Glenbow Archives

Rocky Mountain Rangers Commanding Officer Major John Stewart, wearing a uniform that combines elements of the Dominion Militia and traditional cowboy gear.

In 1884, the revolutionary Louis Riel left Montana for the South Saskatchewan River, and the Metis settlement of Batoche. The mixed-blood Metis sought his perceived wisdom in dealing with grievances against the Canadian govern- ment over the issue of recognition of land claims. Immediately, Riel began to lay plans for a revolt against the government and to attempt alliances with various tribal leaders. The Crees, Stoney, and Sioux of the immediate area would be drawn into the conflict. But to startled ranchers, settlers, and the government, the force that could make a difference was the Blackfoot Confederacy. Crowfoot, and his Blood tribe counterpart, Red Crow, disillusioned by the Reserve system, saw their confederacy in a state of decline from the disappeared buffalo herds. Boredom, disease, and death were making young warriors difficult to control.

On March 26, 1885, near the town of Duck Lake, Sasketchewan, all hell broke loose when a force of North West Mounted Police and civilian volunteers clashed with an armed group of Metis. The Police column was soundly thrashed. Canada was now at war as military forces across the nation mobilized to be transported to the upper South Saskatchewan River to quell the rebellion. Farmers, ranchers, and townsmen across the Canadian plains panicked at the prospect of war with their native neighbors. Nobody knew how far Riel's messages had spread, and to what extent his words would be accepted. Paranoia was especially rampant in the Blackfoot country of southern Alberta.

In 1885, Alberta was a district of the North West Territories, and settlement south of the Bow River was sparse. Towns had sprung up at Fort

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TAIN RANGERS

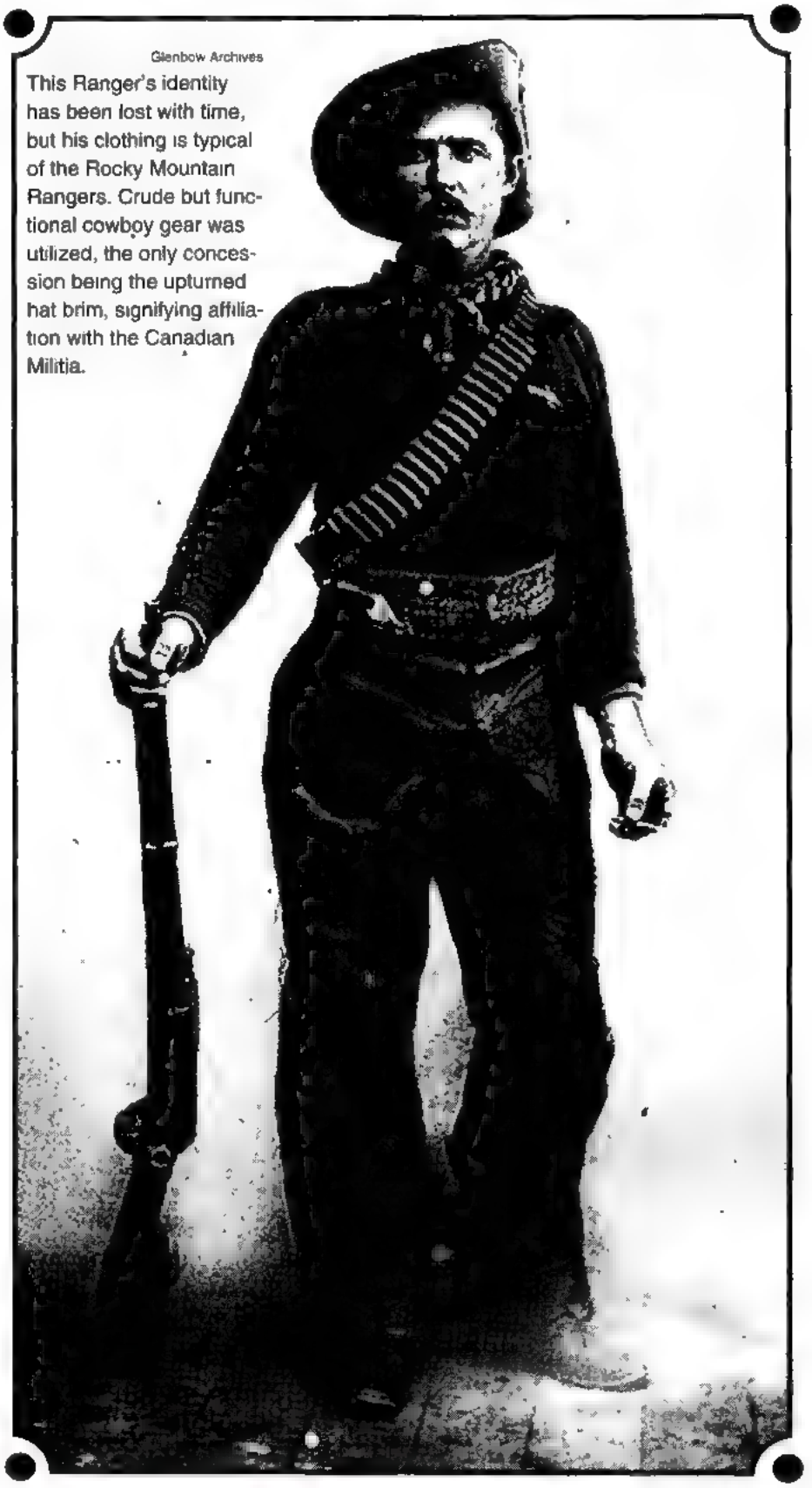
BY GORD TOLTON

Macleod, Calgary, High River, Pincher Creek, Lethbridge, and Medicine Hat, serving as supply centers to the ranching industry. These ventures were dominated by corporate investment from eastern Canada and Great Britain. One of the financiers was Captain John Stewart, a young militia officer from Ottawa. Like the rest of the ranching aristocracy, Stewart came from a well-to-do background. Born in 1854, the son of a successful Ottawa merchant and politician, young Stewart had served as a noncommissioned officer in the Volunteer Militia Cavalry. In 1878 Stewart was personally selected to organize the Princess Louise Dragoon Guards.

Stewart's sergeant-major in the Guards was John Herron. Herron had joined the North West Mounted Police in 1874, and had served with some distinction. Upon discharge, Herron returned to Ontario and joined Stewart's Dragoon Guards. Another Guard whom Stewart would come to know was Duncan Campbell, a Bank of Montreal employee from St. Hilaire, Quebec. Like Stewart and Herron, Campbell would also find himself out west. Stewart, Herron, and Campbell would eventually become business partners in the West, and together would form the nucleus of the command of the Rocky Mountain Rangers.

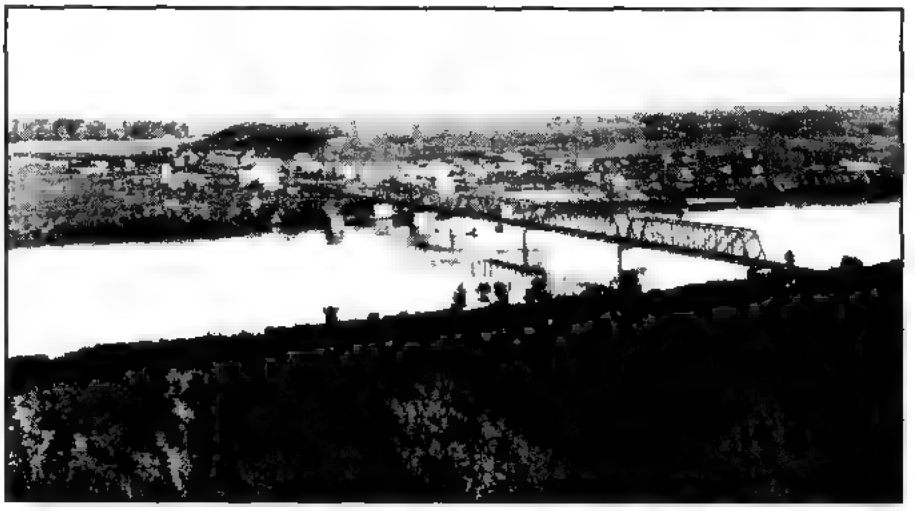
In 1881, Stewart purchased the Mounted Police's remount station at Pincher Creek, reestablishing it as the base of the Stewart Ranch. A government grazing lease of 23,000 acres along the upper Oldman river was also taken out. John Herron was named manager, and an experienced cattleman, James Christie, was taken on as a partner.

The news of Duck Lake was received by Crowfoot at Blackfoot Crossing from Riel's messengers,



Glenbow Archives

This Ranger's identity has been lost with time, but his clothing is typical of the Rocky Mountain Rangers. Crude but functional cowboy gear was utilized, the only concession being the upturned hat brim, signifying affiliation with the Canadian Militia.



Medicine Hat Museum Archives

Taken from the north side of the South Saskatchewan River, the beginnings of Medicine Hat in 1885. The large gathering of tents on the hill above town identify the campsite of the Halifax Provisional Battalion.

who kept tribal leaders up to date on the events taking place. In Calgary and Macleod, word of the battle was received with apprehension and fear. The intentions of the southern tribes weren't known. Though numbers were exaggerated by citizens, the fear among townspeople and settlers was very real. Crowfoot chose to use the situation to gain concessions from the government. And of course, there was still the threat of involvement by American bands from beyond the unprotected United States border.

At Calgary, a telegram was received from Militia and Defense Minister Adolphe Caron, authorizing command of all forces in Alberta to retired Royal Artillery officer General Thomas Strange. Thereafter, all Alberta militias were to form the Alberta Field Force. Prior to news of Duck Lake, John Stewart was in Ottawa and became concerned with the situation in southern Alberta. Immediately he used connections with the government to request permission from Minister Caron to form a volunteer militia to supplement the Mounted Police at Fort Macleod. Three troops of irregular Mounted Cavalry were approved, with Stewart gazetted a major. He traveled west the next day, making his plans for his new unit en route, purchasing revolvers, rifles, saddles, spurs, bridles, and halters along the way. At Winnipeg, Stewart purchased several Model 1876 Winchester rifles, and was ordered to report to General Strange in Calgary.

Citizens of Macleod prepared for the worst. So did Blood Chief Red Crow, who demanded to know the truth about what was happening. Cree messengers had been to his camp, but it was all rumors at this point. The same type of hysteria that gripped the white settlers was also being felt by his own tribe. Many of the young warriors chafed to go into battle, while elders feared an extension of the American warfare that many of them had experienced in Montana. Even the official news did little to set fears aside.

Word arrived from the north where followers of the reluctant Big Bear had killed several white prisoners at Frog Lake. Reports of the looting of the town of Battleford further strained Blackfoot loyalties. Five thousand troops were being mobilized for action under the command of General Middleton. Three main columns were to be organized to march and attack: Middleton to lead a column from Qu'Appelle to attack Riel and Gabriel Dumont's Metis at Batoche; Colonel William Otter would lead a brigade from Swift Current to Battleford to engage Poundmaker's Crees; and eventually General Strange would march the Alberta Field Force to Frog Lake to take on Big Bear.

After reporting to General Strange, Major Stewart sent a dispatch to Duncan Campbell in Macleod, and told him to begin recruiting the Rangers. An ad in the *Macleod Gazette* requested volunteers for the new regiment. It was agreed by Strange and Stewart that the Rocky Mountain Rangers would not go north with the bulk of the field force, but would patrol the extreme southern frontier.

On April 6, Mounted Police Superintendent John Cotton visited Red Crow's council, to inquire as to their intentions. Cotton was informed that messengers from Riel were sent away, indicating a refusal to join the insurrection. Red Crow even refused a gift of tobacco from ally Crowfoot, implying that there could be no misunderstanding as to the Bloods' position. The nearby Peigan tribe followed suit. Both Bloods and Peigans were traditional enemies of the Crees, and there was little chance of Red Crow throwing support behind old foes. Days later, Crowfoot met with Territorial Lieutenant Governor Edgar Dewdney, and after a promise of more rations to the Blackfoot, and military protection, Crowfoot dictated a telegram to be sent to Queen Victoria and the prime minister, effectively rejecting Riel and the Crees. Messengers were sent to other tribes, urging them to solidify the Blackfoot confederacy.

With guarantees of Blackfoot neutrality, southern Alberta could breathe easier, but organization of the Rangers continued. Bands of Gros Ventres and Assiniboines from Montana were spotted in the Cypress Hills and Milk River Ridge country, and a great deal of concern existed as to their intentions on Canadian soil. General Strange and Major Stewart, realizing that their own forces would be spread too thin, requested an additional battalion to guard the Canadian Pacific railroad.

On April 9, John Stewart arrived in Macleod, and began to marshal his recruits, organized mostly of working cow hands from the area's farms and ranches. Several were

Americans of various descriptions: cowboys who'd followed cattle drives from Montana, bull-whackers from Fort Benton, and other remnants of the Fort Whoop-Up whiskey trade. Several former Mounted Policemen, now working as ranchers and cowboys, joined the Rangers. Several had founded the Horse farm where Stewart's ranch was now based. Undoubtedly, Stewart trusted all of them impeccably.

Officers included experienced frontiersmen, Canadian militia officers, former British Army officers, and disengaged Mounted Policemen. The third troop of the Rangers also performed double duty as Pincher Creek Home Guardsmen; several pioneers of the ranching town show up on the roll of the Rangers. These included a teacher from England, storekeepers, the town postmaster, merchants, a sawmill manager, and transplanted Englishmen and eastern Canadians. The Rangers even included some Metis who had bore lineage from natives or had married native women.

Three men who had acted as guides and interpreters for the police over the years were hired to serve as scouts: Aaron Vice, "Rattlesnake Jack" Robson, and the most famed of the Rangers, John "Kootenai" Brown [*see* "Kootenai Brown" p. 27]. Brown had been on an extended hunting trip, and knew nothing of the rebellion until hearing about it from a local rancher. Kootenai's response was clear, spurring his horse to Macleod to offer his services to the Rangers.

Cavalry service offered these men a chance at adventure, or at least something to do. The winter of 1885 had been a long hard one, and a chance to ride as a cavalryman in the warm spring sun was enticing to young cowhands. Racism could have also been a motive. The clash of cultures was bound to produce tensions, especially to range riders who may have already been involved in close calls with native raids on cattle herds.

On April 15, the Rocky Mountain Rangers held its first muster, and were divided into three troops, with Lord Richard Boyle, Edward Gilpin Brown, and John Herron each commissioned as captains in charge of a troop. Three days later, twenty Mounties left Fort Macleod, under Superintendent Aylesworth Bowen Perry, ordered to Calgary to join General Strange's column. Fifty Rangers were assigned to augment the strength of Mounted Police left in garrison.

The Ranger uniform was anything but an actual uniform, best described by John Higinbotham as " ..a broad-brimmed felt hat with wide leather band, coat of Montana broadcloth or brown duck...lined with flannel, a shirt of buckskin, breeches of the same or Bedford cord, and a cartridge belt attached to wich [sic] is a large sheath knife, and the indispensable leather chaps. Top boots with huge Mexican spurs completed the equipment." Ex-Mounties wore their yellow striped breeches. Many wore the right hand brim of their Stetsons pinned up to the side in cavalry fashion, some adorned with a wide red hatband on the crown of their Stetsons, which would readily identify them as Canadian Militia. Arms were expected to be provided by the men, but the Winchesters purchased by Stewart were distributed. Ammunition was provided by the government.

Basic training was not taken too seriously by the rank-and-file troops, as officers saw that these farmers, stockmen, and cowboys were not willing to submit to rigid military

Glenbow Archives

Rocky Mountain Rangers officers posed for this horseback photo near Medicine Hat, circa 1885. From left to right: Lieutenant Henry Boyle, Captain Edward Gilpin Brown, an unidentified Ranger, Captain Lord Boyle, Major John Stewart, and John George "Kootenai" Brown, chief of scouts.

discipline. On one occasion, a Ranger walked out of formation and his commanding officer demanded to know where he was going. The recruit replied, "aw, you fellers go on, I'll catch up to you before you get too far." A troop was being drilled one day by Lieutenant Charlie Smith. Smith led his troops on horseback into the Macleod settlement, giving the orders, "Mount, Walk, Trot." Smith stopped in front of the saloon and ordered, "Halt, everyone dismount and have a drink." An anonymous author stated, "That was all the drill we got."

By April 29, organization was complete and Major Stewart left Macleod for Medicine Hat, via Lethbridge, with two troops. The third troop was left behind with John Herron in command, to patrol the area of Macleod and Pincher Creek. The mission of the Rocky Mountain Rangers changed somewhat, from protecting foothill area ranches and settlements, to establishing protection for the building of the telegraph line from Medicine Hat to Fort Macleod, and guarding construction of the North West Coal & Navigation Railway, from Lethbridge to Medicine Hat. An accompanying telegraph line was to be extended beyond Lethbridge to Macleod. Construction crews, concerned about their safety, threatened work stoppages if they were not protected from the threat of marauding warriors.

Stewart left a detachment of Rangers at Lethbridge, and marched on to Medicine Hat with fifty troopers. Rangers were left behind to accompany the progress of the track layers at various points along the route. On May 4, Stewart's brigades arrived at Medicine Hat, and established a headquarters near town, but later moved it up river in order to maintain discipline among the troops. The Rangers would patrol through the streets of the town, as other troop members were doing at Pincher Creek, Fort Macleod, and Lethbridge. New recruits from ranches around Medicine Hat increased the corps' strength. Enlistees included David Joseph Wylie, an Englishman who would go on to be a successful Saskatchewan rancher and politician.

A patrol was sent further east, into the heavily wooded Cypress Hills. As news reports filtered down to Medicine Hat of General Middleton's movements at Batoche, Stewart realized that with a Metis defeat, rebels may try to escape into Montana. The major even offered a $1,000 bounty for the capture of Louis Riel. Across the border, on the Milk River, the United States Army put Fort Assiniboine on alert.

Long, monotonous patrols were sent north to the Red Deer River and south to the Milk River Ridge, and beyond to the international boundary, cooperating often with Mounted Police patrols. In the west, Captain Herron's troop patrolled the foothills, and in between Pincher Creek and Macleod. Rangers continued to guard the railroad, as well as the supply lines on the Whoop-Up trail between Macleod and the border. Patrols also doubled as couriers, carrying news and acting as a communication link between ranches, police outposts, and settlements. These dispatches were credited with maintaining peace and dispelling rumors.

About two weeks after the Rangers' arrival, Medicine Hat welcomed the Halifax Provisional Battalion, infantrymen from Nova Scotia assigned to guard the Canadian Pacific railroad. The two units soon became involved in a minor turf war. When Colonel Bremner of the Battalion saw the Rangers' tents on the hill above the town, he demanded to know why Stewart had not reported to him. Major Stewart considered himself the ranking officer and exercised his own territorial right to command, and was waiting for Bremner to report to him. Stewart, taken aback by this challenge to his authority, wanted to know whether to count Bremner as a recruit, or as the enemy.

An inter-regimental rivalry erupted. After the Rangers would finish their daily patrol through town, they would ride through the Battalion's camp and trample the ropes of the troops' tents, collapsing them, all the while cat-calling and laughing at the "feet soldiers." Eventually, Stewart and Bremner came to an understanding and the rivalry turned from conflict to sporting events such as baseball, cricket, and tug-of-war. The Rangers won most of these competitions, with the exception of the tug-of-war.

When news broke of the Metis defeat at Batoche, and the surrender of Louis Riel two days later, the Rangers doubled their patrols in the Cypress Hills. They still managed to miss a major escapee from Batoche, the Metis' provisional General Gabriel Dumont, who evaded capture and escaped into Montana. Poundmaker's Crees had laid down their arms, but Big Bear and his band were still at large. Strange's Alberta Field Force would encounter them in battle at Frenchman's Butte and Loon Lake, before the band split and scattered in all directions. In the south, Major Stewart and Superintendent Cotton kept their men on alert, both for escapees from the northern battles and for American Indians seeking to take advantage of the rebellion hysteria for their own ends.

The Rangers finally had their own first hint of action on May 19, when a Medicine Hat cow puncher was fired on by an Assiniboine raiding party. But it only remained a hint, as the Rangers' scouting parties could not locate the raiders, and they were believed to have returned to Montana. Soon after, Ranger Sergeant William Jackson, on a solitary patrol near the Cypress Hills was shot at by a group of American Indians, either Assiniboines or Gros Ventres. Outnumbered, and showing more pluck than good judgment, Jackson leveled his carbine and fired back. His actions were answered by more gunfire. Then, oddly enough, both parties galloped off in opposite directions. Jackson returned to Medicine Hat, reported the incident to his commanding

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officer, and the Rangers rode off in pursuit. Major Stewart sent out patrols west and south from Medicine Hat. Again nothing was found, and officers began to doubt Jackson's word. Slightly perturbed, Sergeant Jackson insisted that the group was still in the district. He picked up some brush and started a signal fire, that was soon answered by a corresponding fire. Still, no sign could be found anywhere of the invading party.

Superintendent Cotton received word of the Jackson incident, and immediately set off from Fort Macleod with a Mounted Police patrol to assist Major Stewart in seeking out the perpetrators. Though Cotton's scouts had heard reports of raiding parties around the head of Chin Coulee, scouts were always a day behind the rumors.

Herron's troop only had one incident to report. A combined Ranger-Mountie team near High River came upon the trail of an outlaw horse theft ring, using the rebellion activity to cover drives of stolen horses out of Montana and into the Highwood River area. When one of these drives was reported near Fort Macleod, the team went off in pursuit. Using an out-of-the-way trail, the Ranger-Mountie team found sixteen stolen horses and overtook two thieves along the banks of the Highwood. The rustlers were arrested and imprisoned at Fort Macleod

Throughout the rest of June, Ranger patrols were uneventful. On July 2, Big Bear was captured by the Mounted Police near Fort Carlton, and the end of the North West Rebellion was proclaimed. The Rangers had bided their time in the Medicine Hat area while awaiting Big Bear's capture. On June 10, Captain John Herron disbanded and paid off the Number Three Troop. There just didn't seem to be any point to keep the men away from their ranches.

Major Stewart became concerned that his militia force would be ordered disbanded and asked the adjutant general to recommend the Rangers for general service. But soon orders to march the column back to Fort Macleod were received. While Lord Boyle led the column west, Stewart boarded a train to press General Middleton into saving his unit. The Rangers arrived in Macleod on July 8 to an artillery salute. They were personally disappointed they had prepared and been equipped to perform in battle, but had to be satisfied with long patrols. But to the citizens of southern Alberta, the Rangers' inactivity was in itself a cause for celebration Their duty and presence spared the south the violent bloodshed of the north.

On July 9, the cavalry was treated to a parade down the main street of Macleod, and were commended by locals: "That your corps has no record of battles lost or won is a matter of sincere congratulation, and we assure you that the absence of such a record detracts in no wise from the sense of obligation we feel for the protection afforded us." Major Stewart returned to Macleod a few days later, his personal mission to Ottawa a failure. His request for a permanent force was turned down. On July 17, the Rangers were disbanded and paid off.

Provincial Archives of Alberta

In 1886, as a reward for their pledge of neutrality during the North West Rebellion, the Treaty of Seven Chiefs were invited to tour eastern Canada. Shown here in Ottawa are, seated, left to right, Three Bulls, Crowfoot, and Red Crow. Standing them are Father Albert Lacombe and interpreter Jean L'heureux.

The Rangers returned to the lives that they had previously known. Those who had received saddles and rifles from the government were allowed to retain them. The Rangers' service in the rebellion was officially recognized, and all 113 men received the North West Medal. Each Ranger was eligible for either an $80 bonus or 320 acres of homestead land. Most chose the land, mostly in the Pincher Creek-Fort Macleod area, but also around Lethbridge, Medicine Hat, and Maple Creek, Saskatchewan. The homesteads allowed ex-Rangers a base with which to build their own lives as ranchers, farmers, pioneer settlers, and merchants. Many Rangers became active as politicians, serving in the legislatures of the provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, and in the Senate and Parliament of Canada

As for John Stewart, in 1886 he married Isabel Skead, daughter of an Ottawa lumber baron, and they took up residence in Calgary. The highly-respected Stewart became a leading citizen and operated a downtown development company, a stagecoach line, and the anthracite coal mine near Banff. He died in 1893, at the age of thirty-nine, leaving an elegant home on the Bow River that still stands today

The Hanging Judge: Matthew Baillie Begbie

By Nancy Bennett

In 1858, a thirty-nine-year-old gentleman named Matthew Begbie arrived in the untamed land of British Columbia. He was over six feet tall and sported a Vandyke beard. He dressed in black velvet breeches, buckled shoes, and a flowing cape and carried with him an air of charm and respectability. Gold had been discovered in the Fraser River area and the Cariboo Rush was not far behind. It had brought many undesirable characters to the newly formed British colony.

Some were American miners who planned to take the gold across the border without paying a licensing fee or duty. Others were running from the law, hoping to hide out in the hills of British Columbia. Begbie had come to bring law and order to the miners, gamblers, packers, horse traders, and thieves who populated the camps.

Begbie was well aware of the elements he had to tame in order to make British Columbia civilized. He decided that a man's reputation should precede him and gave himself the nickname "The Hanging Judge."

In truth, Matthew Begbie hanged few men and it tore his soul apart when he had to impose the sentence. Sometimes he would ask a clergyman to stand with him to comfort him after he had passed sentence. In fact, he pleaded with Governor James Douglas to change the sentence from death to life imprisonment for some of the unfortunates he had convicted to swing. Others though, deserved their fate and Begbie was quick to act when a man committed cold-blooded murder.

At over six feet and weighing close to 200 pounds, Begbie cut an imposing figure. Because many places lacked the facilities for a court, Begbie would often conduct court on horseback, in tents, or out in fields.

B.C. Archives & Records Service

Judge Matthew Baillie Begbie.

Begbie had a keen understanding of justice and fair play, but he was often angered by the behavior of the very people he was trying to protect. He had to choose the jury in some cases from individuals who were themselves less than law-abiding. These men were often acquaintances of the lawless party. The choice of cads Begbie had to deal with could not be shown more truly than at the Gilchrist trial in 1862 at Williams Lake.

Gilchrist and his friends had come up with a plan to rid them-

selves of a man named Turner. In a crowded saloon, Gilchrist and one of his friends would draw guns on each other, pretending a quarrel. The other friends would attempt to wrestle the guns away. One would "accidentally" go off and Turner would be shot dead. All went well with the scheme until Gilchrist killed another man by accident.

By all rights, Gilchrist should have swung. He admitted to the crime and seemed to show little remorse. After the facts were presented, his jury of peers brought back a verdict of manslaughter, not murder. Judge Begbie could hardly contain himself. "It is far from a pleasant duty for me to have to sentence you to imprisonment for life. I feel I am, through some incomprehensible reason, prevented from doing my proper duty." In a thunderous voice, Judge Begbie roared, "Your crime was unmitigated, diabolical murder. You deserved to be hanged! Had the jury performed their duty, I might now have the painful satisfaction of condemning you to death, and you, gentlemen of the jury, you are a pack of Dallas horse thieves, and permit me to say it would give me great pleasure to see you hanged, each and every one of you for declaring a murderer guilty of manslaughter."

On another occasion when a jury released a man charged with "sandbagging" a miner in a saloon, Begbie concluded the case with a snarl. "You may go," he said to the accused. "And I devoutly hope that the next man that you sandbag is a member of this jury."

Once a man had been caught and convicted for a crime, he would have to remain in custody until Judge Begbie returned on his circuit. Since most places had no jails, fines were often levied for lesser crimes. But Begbie had the power to decide how a man would be punished. One of the best known stories was when Begbie caught up with a man convicted of assault in one of the Cariboo gold rush towns.

"Now, son," Begbie said "I am given to understand that you come from across the line. When you come to this side you must behave yourself. We will not tolerate any of your bullying. I shall fine you $100."

"That's all right, Judge," the bully replied. "I've got that right here in my breech pocket."

"And six months imprisonment with hard labor," Judge Begbie added. "Perhaps you have that in your other breech pocket."

Matthew Begbie would often travel alone or only with his government registrar, using native guides or porters to see him through the roughest part of country. His circuit kept him on the road for over half of the year, until the snows came. On his days off he liked to fish and hunt.

Horses were often a problem for him, as his large frame required a sturdy animal to carry him. As well, during the winter, horses still had to be fed and feed was very hard to come by in the mountainous regions.

The government argued that since Matthew Begbie used his horses for pleasure riding as well as business that he should buy his own. A typical plea from Begbie read, "I have hitherto ridden my own horses. I regret to say that both are reported dead. There is a government horse, however that can carry me, but there is no horse for Mr. Poolev. the acting Registrar, who will have to accompany me. I believe that there are government horses at the Sumas unengaged and it would be convenient if practicable to have two good wheelers and a riding horse selected...." Eventually the government relented and Judge Begbie continued to ride on government horses until at least 1876.

Begbie had a deep appreciation for the native people and spoke both Chilcotin and Shuswap fluently. He would sometimes act as interpreter at his own cases and he earned the respect and admiration of the native people for his sense of fairness. Begbie had an understanding of the customs of the native people, though some of their customs seemed savage to other white men. These included sorcery, slavery, and cannibalism. He tempered his judgment to fit with native traditions at times, while still upholding the law.

Begbie also had a sense of frontier justice. In one of the lesser validated stories Begbie came into a lawless Cariboo town one evening. As he harnessed his horse he saw a young lady and man staggering up the street. From the corner of the building charged another woman, who overtook the first and threw her to the ground. As the gentleman watched with a smile on his face, the two ladies tore at each others' eyes and dresses. One was thrown into a horse trough by the other.

The glares of the two women were venomous when Judge Begbie stepped between them and tried to calm them down. The drunken man left, the show over, while Begbie took the two ladies aside.

"If you must kill each other, do it in a fair duel," he said, and then whispered something to both of them.

The next morning the two women paced off while Judge Begbie and the two-timing man observed. In a whirl of petticoats they turned towards each other, pistols cocked. Then, slowly and deliberately they turned from each other and narrowed their dueling pistols at their former lover. As his face grew white, the man tried to stand and run as both ladies emptied their pistols into his backside. Judge Begbie smiled, knowing that the cad would be too embarrassed to report the crime and that his court would probably find the ladies justified in their deliverance of frontier law.

When he died in 1894, Judge Begbie requested a simple stone on which was inscribed: "Lord be Merciful on me a sinner " His funeral was so well attended that it had to be marshaled. One of the last of his kind, a touring judge who brought law and order to an untamed land, Matthew Begbie will be remembered for his sense of fairness and decency in British Columbia.

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From Silver to Fruit

By Cheryl Landes

The Kootenay country in southeastern British Columbia's interior was relatively unknown to most outsiders until gold was discovered on Wild Horse Creek in 1864. Soon towns popped up as quickly as jackrabbits as more veins opened. But one town's birth in this area wasn't caused from a gold strike; silver was responsible for Nelson's growth. And unlike most of the other towns that shrunk to handfuls of people or died altogether, Nelson prospered even after the silver mines closed.

The credit for discovering silver goes to Osner and Winslow Hall. The two brothers caught the prospecting bug during the early days of the gold rush and came west from Maine. Winslow settled in the Colville River Valley in northeastern Washington and married an Indian woman, while Osner went to California. Later Osner joined his brother.

After Osner settled in Washington, news spread about large gold and silver strikes in southern British Columbia's interior, a few miles across the border. One morning in August 1886, Winslow said to his five sons at breakfast, "Things aren't gonna get any better here. Why 'n't we go up to Canada and do a bit a prospecting? The salmon's pretty well cleaned out, and so are its feeders, but nobody's far as I know, has ever gone looking for loads that supplied the nuggets in the creeks."

All of his sons were eager to go on an adventure. After Winslow heard their comments, he said, "There's one p'rticilar creek, though, that bear [sic] some panning. It's the only one I've never been to. Always had a hunch there might be somethin' there. It's way up near the top of the Salmon Valley, almost at Kootenay Lake, I think. Comes in from the west side."

The Hall brothers left after the September harvest, accompanied by Winslow's sons—Bobby, Will,

B.C. Archives and Records, Victoria, British Columbia

Baker Street, Nelson's main thoroughfare.

Tommy, Charlie, and Albert—and Oscar, Osner's son. Other people who joined the group were the Halls' three cousins, William H. Oakes and his sons, Mel and Henry; Willie White, believed to be Winslow's adopted son; and Will Miller, a friend of Bobby's. Narcisse Downey and Dauney Williams, two full-blooded Lakes Indians, were recruited as guides and hunters.

The stronger members of the party loaded food and supplies into boats at Marcus and rowed forty miles up the Columbia River to the mouth of the Pend Orielle River, where they met the younger members who had brought the pack and saddle horses. Then they traveled east on the Dewdney trail into the Salmon River Valley. Along the way, they cut brush from the old trail or made new side trails to explore the hills along the many small feeder streams flowing from the mountains.

Eventually they reached the area Winslow talked about, but by then, supplies were low and the approaching winter increased their sense of urgency to stop their search. Still hoping they would find gold, however, they continued west along the Salmon River behind a mountain facing the west arm of Kootenay Lake. As they kept going, they realized they were actually climbing the mountain.

One night around the campfire, the discouraged party talked about returning home. Winslow agreed and asked Narcisse and Dauney to replenish the food supply the next morning while the others prepared for the journey. The party left the horses free to graze for the night.

When they got up for breakfast, the horses were gone. Tommy, Will Hall, and Willie White went to look for them while the Indians came along to hunt for deer. They walked together awhile, then separated to finish their tasks. The trio couldn't find the horses, so they lay on a mossy ledge overlooking the Salmon River Valley and Kootenay Lake to wait for the hunters and quickly fell asleep.

As sunset approached, they were awakened by the return of the two empty-handed Indians. Discouraged by the day's events, they all sat on the ledge drawn by the magnificent view. To release their frustrations, they started digging their heels into the moss. An animal skittered by, and one of the white boys pulled up a chunk of moss, tossed it at the creature, and turned to pry off another. In the space below the moss he found a gap. Inside was iridescent rock that sparkled in the dim light.

Each man grabbed two pieces of the rock and returned to camp to show it to the others. After the elders examined the rock, Will Miller said, "Yeah, this looks purty good to me. It's not gold…but it's darn near as good. It's peacock ore—lotsa copper, and silver too, I'll bet."

…one of the white boys pulled up a chunk of moss, tossed it at the creature, and turned to pry off another. In the space below the moss he found a gap. Inside was iridescent rock that sparkled in the dim light.

The next day, the elders returned to the site to take a closer look, and decided to hide their discovery for the winter. When they returned the next spring, they started the Silver King Mine, which became one of the largest silver mines in the interior.

Word of the strike spread quickly. Throughout the summer of 1887, a steady stream of people came to stake claims or seek work at the mine on the nameless peak. Workers freed the ore by drilling holes in the rock face, using a hammer and drill steel. Then they inserted dynamite into the holes and blasted the stone. Once it was safe to do so, they loaded the ore into carts using picks and shovels and drove it out of the mine along narrow gauge track.

The lack of a name for the mountain didn't last long. On July 27, 1887, Charlie Townsend and Ben Thomas were staking the Jim Crow claim about two miles miles from the Silver King. When they wrote the notice for their claim, they didn't know how to describe its location. Suddenly a huge warty toad jumped from under a log and landed at Townsend's feet. From that time on, the peak was called Toad Mountain.

During the winter of 1887-88, approximately 400 men were camping in shanties along the west arm of Kootenay Lake, six miles east of Toad Mountain. Here the town of Nelson was born. Founder Malcolm Sproat wanted to name the town Stanley after Canada's governor general, but since a town by that name already existed in the Cariboo District, government officials chose Sproat's second alternative in honor of Hugh Nelson, the province's lieutenant governor.

By 1889, the town had a hundred permanent dwellings and a few businesses housed in canvas tents. One of these was the J.H. Wards Tent Hotel, a three-room establishment with a dining room and bar. The rules Wards enforced show that even this early on, Nelson had a rowdy side.

"First, two or more persons must sleep in one bed when requested by the proprietor," the posted rules read. "Second, quarrelsome or boisterous persons and also those who fire off without provocation guns or other explosives on the premises and all boarders who get killed will not be allowed to stay in this house. Third, the proprietor will be not accountable for anything. Fourth, spiked boots and all spurs must be removed before retiring."

Nelson's system of law and order was much different than in many

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B C Archives and Records Victoria, British Columbia

Nelson, British Columbia, and Kootenay Lake.

mining towns. The police constable's primary task was to supervise the chain gangs as they worked on the city's streets. It's hard to know whether prisoners were really being punished for their crimes, for jailer Patty Miles allowed them to run errands without supervision. One prisoner took advantage of the arrangement, so Miles warned him that if he did not return by 10:00 PM, she would lock him out. No records indicate whether he accepted her offer.

Because of Nelson's remoteness from the province's major cities, the county court met three times in two years and the judge would decide as many as 200 cases in two days. Many townsfolk believed the judgments were unfair because the sessions were too long.

The city administration tolerated the brothels, which sprang up in an area known as Bogustown (later called Fairview), but watched them carefully. Until the early 1960s, the brothels provided the city a steady source of income. Every month, the madames were hauled into court and fined $40 for keeping a house of ill repute, and all the prostitutes were fined $10 for living in the brothels. The city also enforced another rule: no prostitute could solicit until after 4:00 PM.

As the mining industry continued to grow throughout the 1890s, so did Nelson. From 1896 through 1910, a variety of businesses helped Nelson become a major commerce center in the southern interior. The first included hardware, clothing, and mining supply stores; a mineral assayer's office, and the Land Registry Office. The latter was built of fire retardant materials with retractable metal window shutters and a metal fire door at the main entrance. The Nelson City Hall, *Nelson Daily News*, Hudson's Bay Company, a butcher shop, barber shop, four banks, and an Eagles Hall soon followed. There was also the undertaker-owned Standard Furniture Store on Baker Street, Nelson's main thoroughfare. Although rumors circulated that the owners built coffins in the back of the store, they were never confirmed.

The province's first hydroelectric plant began operating in February 1896 on Cottonwood Creek. John "Truth" Houston, who owned the plant, sold it to the city after he became its first mayor on April 16, 1897. Taxpayers objected to the move, but it actually worked to their advantage. Today, Nelson still has some of the lowest electricity rates in the province.

Nelson was the smallest town in Canada to have a streetcar system. Car #23 ran year-round from 1899 through 1949. In the winter, ice and snow on the tracks often caused the trolley to derail and crash through storefront windows—a common complaint among the shopkeepers who had to make the repairs.

Unlike many other Old West towns, Nelson didn't fall victim to fires caused by lightning strikes or human accidents. When the city was incorporated in 1897, the council's first agenda item was to pass an ordinance prohibiting the use of wood for building exteriors. The only serious fire in town was at the Nelson smelter on September 11, 1911. The blaze, believed to be set by an arsonist, burned so bright that many of the residents could read their newspapers long after sunset. Fortunately no one was hurt, because the smelter was closed.

When the mines closed in 1907 and 1908, Nelson survived with the fruit industry. The long sunny summers and the town's closeness to numerous rivers and lakes were ideal conditions for farmers to plant orchards. They also had a place to sell their fruit when James Allan McDonald started a candy shop on Baker Street. McDonald sold all-day and one-cent suckers, caramels, chocolates, and candy canes originally made from fresh fruit he ordered from a wholesaler. But when only five of the sixty watermelons he needed during the busy summer season were available, he decided to buy fruit directly from the farmers. Later he started making homemade jam, which became so popular he built the McDonald Jam Factory at 303 Vernon Street in 1911. It operated until the 1960s, when increased competition from larger fruit processors forced it out of business.

Today, Nelson remains a thriving fruit and transportation center and attracts hundreds of outdoor enthusiasts who fish on Kootenay Lake, hike, camp, and ski. The town of 10,000 is second only to Victoria in concentration of heritage buildings per capita in British Columbia. (The heritage building program in Canada is similar to the United States National Historic Register.) Streetcar #23 is running again, shuttling tourists back and forth from downtown to the lake shore. Prospectors still roam the mountains, and dreams run high that one day there may be another big strike like the Silver King discovery one century ago.

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David Thompson's BOATMEN 1800-1811

David Thompson is one of Canada's best known historic figures, his explorations and works from 1800 to 1813 contributed greatly to the expansion of the Canadian West and the American Northwest. Through his efforts the fur trade reached Idaho and the Northwest and opened the Columbia River region, making a strong claim for it becoming a British possession. It was through Thompson and others like him that Oregon Territory became an outpost of civilization long before the American interior. As late as 1845 Father De Smet bemoaned how the American interior was underdeveloped and under-civilized compared to the Northwest and the Canadian West.

Thompson is one of the most written about characters in Canadian history, and his personal history need not be delved into here. Instead, let's take a look at those who made his work possible, his crewmen—those of the faceless hundreds, if not thousands, who labored for the fur trade as the common man, and left behind

By J. Fronhold • Illustrated by Richard Ignarski

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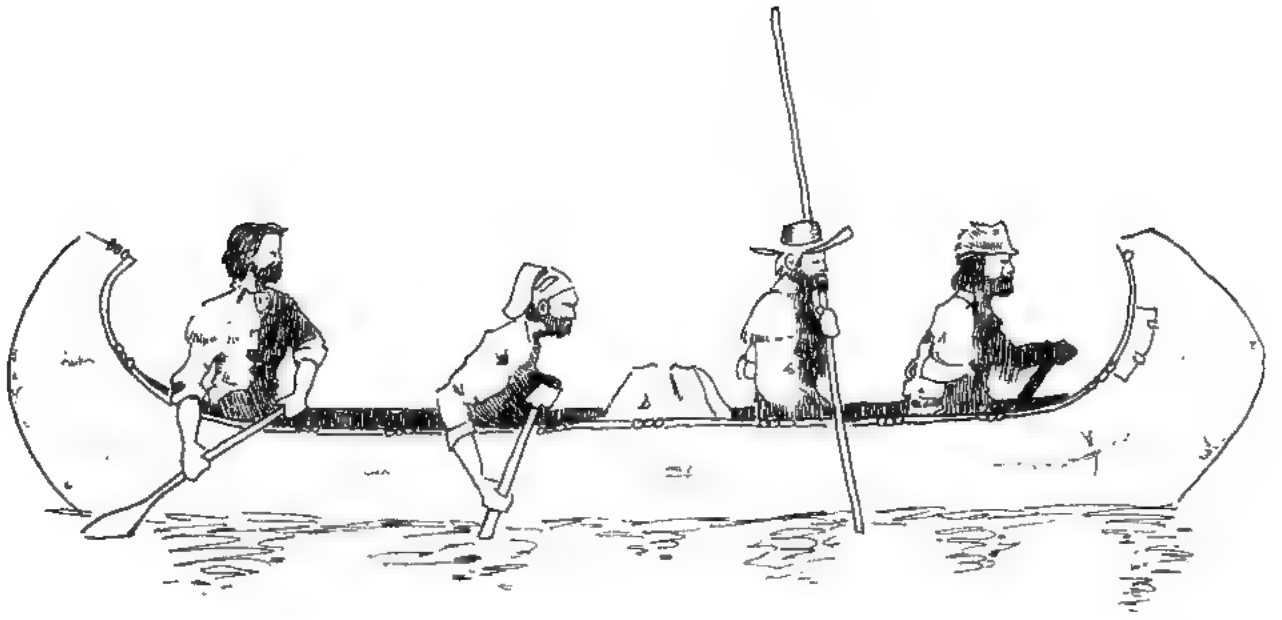

few records of note

Although a number of journals remain from the fur trade era of western Canada, precious little information remains about the average éngage, or voyageur.

For the most part, the journals concern themselves only with the writer, and rarely with his companions. In many cases the names of the companions—and the "servants" in particular—are not even mentioned.

While conducting historical research at Heritage Databank Consulting, we came across the interesting fact that David Thompson's crewmen remained remarkably consistent over the years.

For the most part, Thompson appears to have used the same crew throughout much of his travels in the West. The same appears to be true for others of the early travelers.

This situation tended to be more or less true for the fur trade service as a whole. The "Gentlemen," the upper echelon of the fur trade, tended to hang onto their men, probably for one of several reasons: They were reluctant to let loose tried and true men who had proven their worth and on whom they relied.

On occasion the traders would be transferred from one location to another at a moment's notice while attending at Rainy River or Grand Portage. With no chance to return home, their possessions and family had to be sent for later. Not unlikely, the traders moved on to their new posting with the crew that had brought them.

The traders, for the most part, were family men, and their families moved from post to post with them. Often the men were married to kinswomen, or at least to someone from the same region, which more or less amounted to the same thing. They would be most comfortable by bringing along with them part of their familiar society. Nothing is said of the families of David Thompson's men, but it should be remembered that Thompson did not travel alone, but with his family, who tagged along in their own canoes with crewmen of their own

Of these men, twenty-nine served for more than one year. The longest association with Thompson as a boatman was eight years, by Antoine Clement. The longest association with Thompson in any capacity was also by Clement, with nine years of service. Seventeen men served only one year with Thompson, and of these only three were with him in his last year in the West.

Included among these newcomers are some names associated with Thompson from past years. To date, the following crewmen have been identified:

Beaulieu (served 1808, 1809). The family name of Beaulieu was long associated with Alberta, and sometimes claimed to have been the first non-Indian name in Alberta, on the Slave-Athabasca River. A Beaulieau was a guide and boatman for both Peter Pond and Alexander Mackenzie. This Beaulieu was probably a son or grandson.

Boisvert, Baptiste (served 1808, 1809, 1810). Boisvert had been employed by the North West Company (NWC) on the Upper Saskatchewan since at least 1804.

Boudrie (served 1802, 1803, 1804). Boudrie served with Thompson on his stay on Peace River and his mapping of the northern canoe routes from Edmonton to Fort Chipewyan and Cumberland House. Little else is known of Boudrie.

Boulard, Michel (served 1800, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811). Apparently an assistant to Thompson, Boulard was with Thompson at Rocky Mountain House and traveled with him to meet the Kootenay Indians coming in to trade.

Callihoo, Joseph (served 1802, 1803, 1804, possibly 1810). Also known variously as **Gailloux, Gayou, Geillioux, Gioux, Guilliot, Guilliou,** and possibly **Jaloux,** he was probably one of the Iroquois who came to Edmonton in 1798 and was involved in the battle with the Blackfoot, after which he joined the NWC. He was with Thompson on Lesser Slave

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Lake, Fort Fork, and the Peace River. He deserted when Thompson reached Rainy Lake in the summer of 1804 and took refuge with the XY Company there. He was apprehended later by Hugh Faries of the NWC. He was probably returned west by Alexander Henry, and in 1809 he was at Paint Creek House with Henry. At that time he was apparently married, and in 1810 is listed as having five children. That year he accompanied Henry's people to Rocky Mountain House, probably as a voyageur, and was part of Thompson's party crossing the Athabasca Pass, wintering with him on the Canoe River. In 1814 he was back with Alexander Henry. His children apparently largely settled at Lesser Slave Lake.

Cardinal (served 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and possibly 1802, 1803, 1804, and 1810). An intriguing historical question arises: Which Cardinal, **Jacques, Joseph, Simon** or **Rene**, was with Thompson, or was it a different Cardinal at different times? The answer would shed considerable light on the development and growth of the Cardinal descendants (some 20,000). A Cardinal accompanied Thompson to the Peace River, where it appears he may have been traded in for a local employee; if this Cardinal remained at the post or rejoined Thompson as La Ramme did is not known. At times Jacques Cardinal was known to have been associated with Thompson.

Cartier (served 1798, 1810). Cartier was not really a boatman but appears to have been a post hunter From 1810 on, he was at Thompson's post in the Columbia district. Here the name was given to a Flathead Indian chief for his resemblance to Cartier.

Clement, Antoine (served 1799, 1800, 1801, and possibly 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, 1806, and 1810). Very little is known of Clement. He is presumed to be Antoine Clement, listed as an employee of the NWC on the upper Saskatchewan in 1804. In 1806 Clement left with Finan McDonald for the Columbia River, and was at Kootenay House that summer. In 1809 he was stationed at Paint Creek House with a wife and children as one of Alexander Henry's men. In 1810 he was at Rocky Mountain House, but was not part of Thompson's people.

Cote, Joseph (served 1810, 1811). Stationed at Lower Terre Blanche (temporary replacement for Fort Edmonton) in 1810 as a voyageur with Alexander Henry, Cote was attached to Thompson's expedition to cross the Athabasca Pass, and then joined Thompson as a boatman on his trip to the mouth of the Columbia River.

Du Nord (served 1798, 1810). In 1798, Du Nord was a freeman hunter engaged by Thompson on the Beaver River. In 1810 a Du Nord was part of Thompson's party crossing the Athabasca Pass, but Thompson had little good to say of him. Du Nord and three others, including D'Eau and Letendre, deserted Thompson's party once they had crossed the pass. The men recrossed the pass to return home in mid-winter.

Dumont (served 1800, 1806). Probably **Jean Baptiste Dumont**, a family patriarch. Dumont was not normally one of Thompson's men, but on two occasions joined his party while at Rocky Mountain House.

Finlay, Jaco (Jacques Raphael) (served 1806). Son of NWC partner John Finlay and a Soto mother, Finlay established a post on Kootenay Plains in 1806 and then moved across Howse Pass with his family, cutting a pack trail for Thompson's trading party. From that time on Finlay remained in the Columbia District as a trader, rising to the position of clerk in the NWC under Thompson, becoming prominent in the Idaho area. His move to the Columbia may have led to the establishment of the St. Paul De Soto Band in the Willamette Valley of Oregon.

Gagnon, Joseph (served 1806 and possibly 1807, 1808, 1809, and 1810). Also known as **Gagnion, Genou, Ginan,** Gagnon was another longume associate with Thompson. Stationed at Fort Des Prairies in 1804, he joined Thompson in 1806 at Rocky Mountain House. Gagnon spent part of 1809 at Paint Creek House with a wife and then was stationed at Thompson's Salish House in 1809-1810.

Gladu (served 1801 and possibly 1802, 1803, and 1804). Virtually nothing is known of this man, other than that he was with Thompson on his search for a route through the mountains in 1801. He was probably the patriarch of the large Gladue family and possibly **Francois Gladue.**

Ignace (served 1811). An Iroquois Indian, probably **Ignace Shonowane,** Ignace Shonowane was among the numerous Iroquois freemen who moved to Alberta in 1898 and may have been involved in the battle with the Blackfoot. The Iroquois were defeated and scattered, Ignace being among those who went to trap in the mountains to the west of Edmonton. In the 1800s, Shonowane was one of the leaders of the Iroquois moving across the mountains. He took them into the Colville area of Idaho. Ignace was engaged by Thompson in 1811 and accompanied him on the trip down the Columbia River to the Pacific.

La Plante (served 1802, 1803, 1804). La Plante served with Thompson on his stay on Peace River and his mapping of the northern canoe routes from Edmonton to Fort Chipewyan and Cumberland House. Little else is known of him. He may have remained at Fort Fork on the Peace River or on the English River.

La Ramme (served 1799, possibly 1800, and 1801, 1802) Also known as **La Rammer, La Rammes, La Rami,** he was an interesting and unique character. La Ramme was with Thompson in 1799 at Fort George and in 1801 at Rocky Mountain House, where he accompanied him in his search for a pass through the mountains. He traveled with Thompson on his mapping of Lesser Slave Lake and the Peace, Athabasca, and Churchill rivers in 1801-1804. It appears that whenever Thompson reached a new district he would drop off La Ramme in

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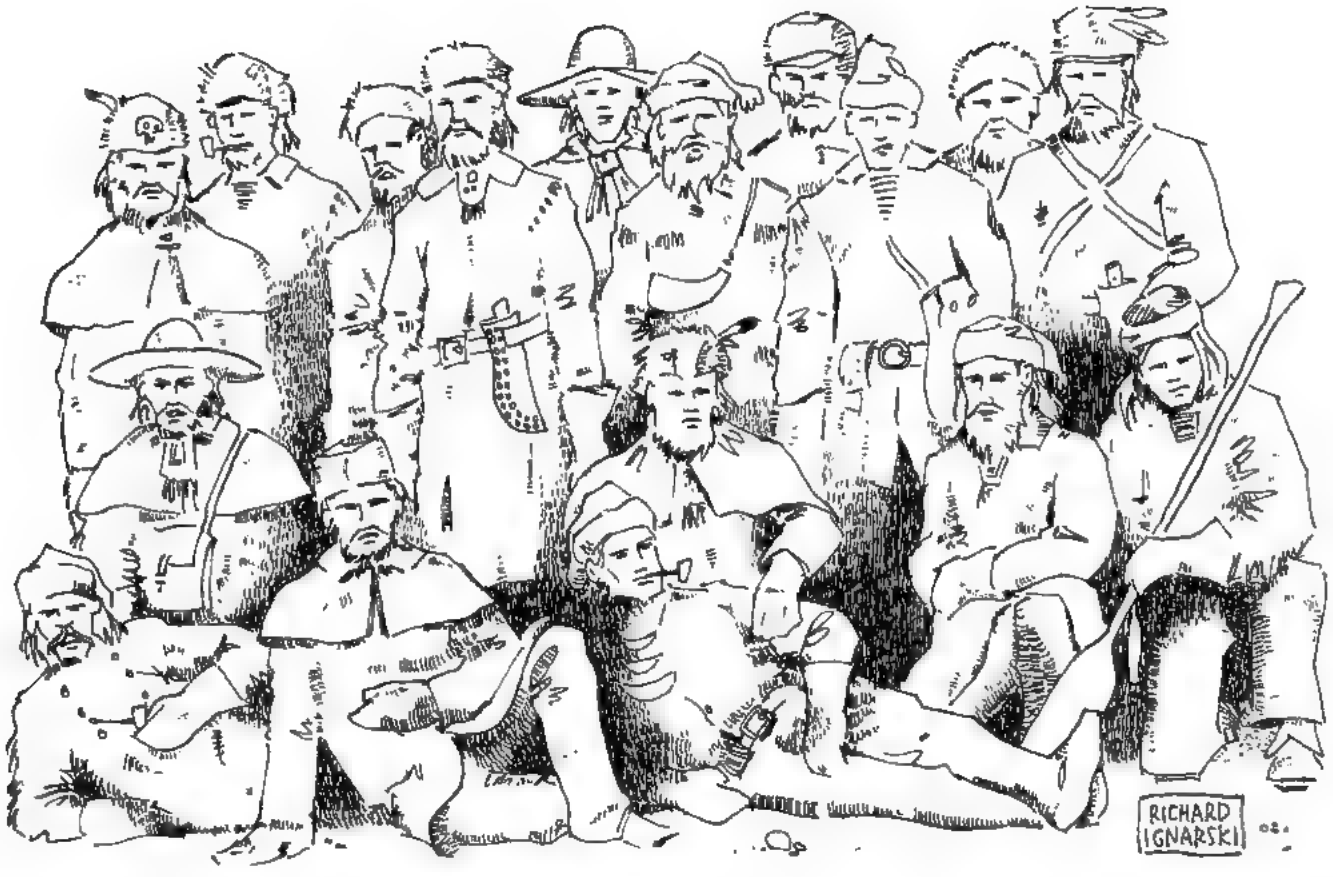

exchange for a local guide from a post, and then continue on with the local guide, leaving La Ramme behind. Invariably at some future time, La Ramme would again catch up with Thompson. What the connection is between La Ramme and the founder of Laramie (La Rami) Post, Wyoming, is unclear.

Lussier, Emilien (served 1807, 1808, 1809, 1810). Also known as **Lucier**, he was probably the son of Francois Lussier. Francois Lussier is listed in 1804 as an employee of the NWC on the upper Saskatchewan River. In 1807 Lussier went with David Thompson to the Columbia River District, where he was stationed at Kootenay House in 1808, and Salish House in 1808-1809. In 1809 Lussier's wife died, leaving him with four children. The children may have been taken in by Francois or Joseph at Lower Terre Blanche House and may have been instrumental in the founding of the Transmontane Cree.

McDonald, Finan (served 1806). McDonald was not a crewman of Thompson's, but a clerk in the NWC who worked with Thompson from 1806 on

McMillan, James (served 1808). Also a clerk with the NWC, McMillan served with Thompson and, for some time, was in charge of the annual Fur Brigade canoes to Rainy Lake.

Meillet (served 1801, and possibly 1802, 1803, and 1804). Although probably with Thompson for a number of years, nothing is known of this man.

Mousseau, Louis (served 1808, and possibly 1809 and 1810, 1811). Although apparently with Thompson for a number of years, little is known of his lineage. In 1804 he was stationed at Fort Des Prairies and from 1808 on he was a voyageur in the Columbia region and with the canoe brigade to Rainy Lake. He accompanied Thompson on his journey to the Pacific. Thompson considered him a good man, but on the Pacific traded him off for a Sandwich Islander because he felt Mousseau was not a strong enough boatman for the trip back upriver.

Pareille, Pierre (served 1810, 1811). Pareille was with Thompson on his trip across Athabasca Pass and on the journey to the Pacific.

Parisien, Ignace (served 1799, 1808). Parisien was with Thompson at Fort George in 1799 and possibly at Paint Creek House in 1804, where he was one of the horsekeepers. He was also with Thompson in 1808 on the upper Saskatchewan River.

Valade, Rene (served 1810, 1811). Valade accompanied Thompson on his trip across Athabasca Pass and on the journey to the Pacific.

Vertefeuille (served 1802, 1803, 1804). Vertefeuille was with Thompson on his stay on Peace River and his mapping of the northern canoe routes from Edmonton to Fort Chipewyan and Cumberland House. Little else is known of him.

Not all of these men were Thompson's crewmen, although they may at one time or another have been with him, but were general staff of the department.

A Final Note: More detailed biographies of Thompson's voyageurs and boatmen are available on the Heritage Databank's Internet Bulletin Board, www freenet.edmonton ab.ca/~databank/index.html.

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Glenbow Archives

John George "Kootenai" Brown, 1893.

Kootenai Brown: The Old Scout of Waterton

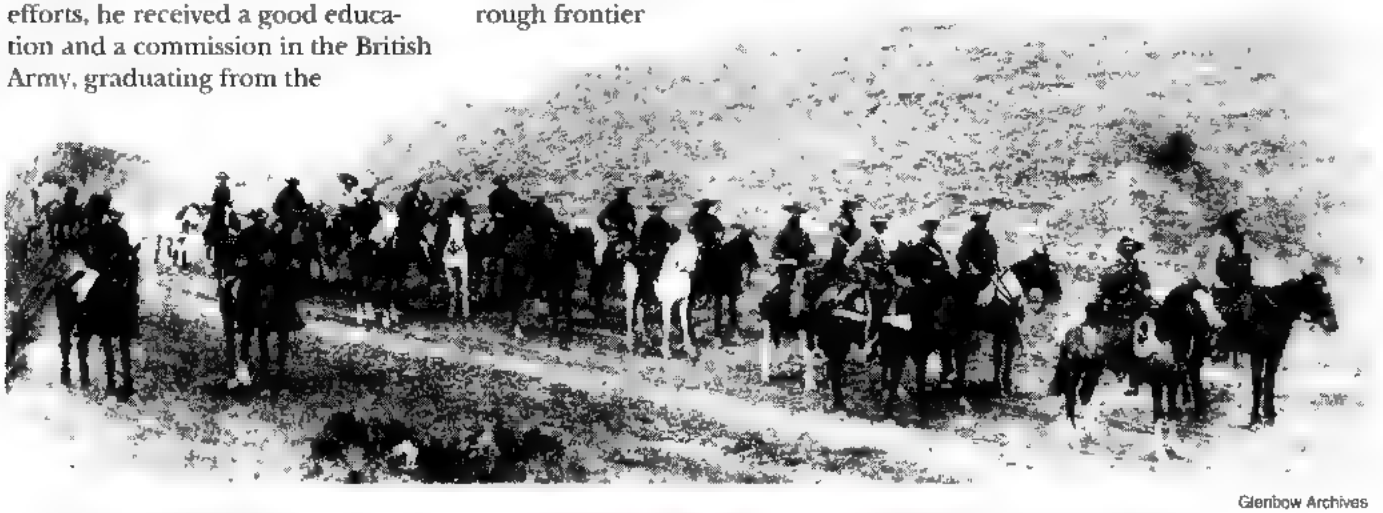
By Gord Tolton

Kootenai Brown's exploits covered three continents, but it was on the American continent that he made his mark, as gold miner, peace officer, whiskey trader, express rider, hunter, oil speculator, and as a scout for the Mounted Police and for both American and Canadian militaries. He finally ended his remarkable life as a conservationist, responsible for the creation of Waterton Lakes National Park.

Born in County Clare, Ireland, in 1839, John George Brown was the son of an English military officer, and was a favorite of his grandmother. Due to her determined efforts, he received a good education and a commission in the British Army, graduating from the Military College at Sandhurst. As a captain, Brown was posted to India during the Indian Mutiny, but his regiment did not see any action. After receiving his discharge, Brown left the British Isles for good, sailing for Panama in 1861. Taunted by tales of gold in British Columbia, he and a friend, Arthur Vowell, made their way up the Pacific coast, dead broke upon arrival at San Francisco. Brown worked the docks to raise steamship passage to Victoria, ultimately traveling up the Fraser River to the heart of the gold rush in the Cariboo region

Brown and Vowell spent two years mining and trapping in the rough frontier gold country. They made $3,000 in one winter selling furs, but lost it in a mining deal the next summer. Leaving Williams Creek in the fall of 1864, with little more than his clothes, Brown arrived at Boston Bar, where he worked on the Fraser River freight boats. It was back-breaking work, and when news of a gold strike at Wild Horse Creek hit in 1865, John Brown was gone.

Brown's luck in the East Kootenay region was no better, and faced with a lack of funds, he took a job as a constable. His biggest arrest came when he nabbed three would-be con artists selling phony gold dust. But

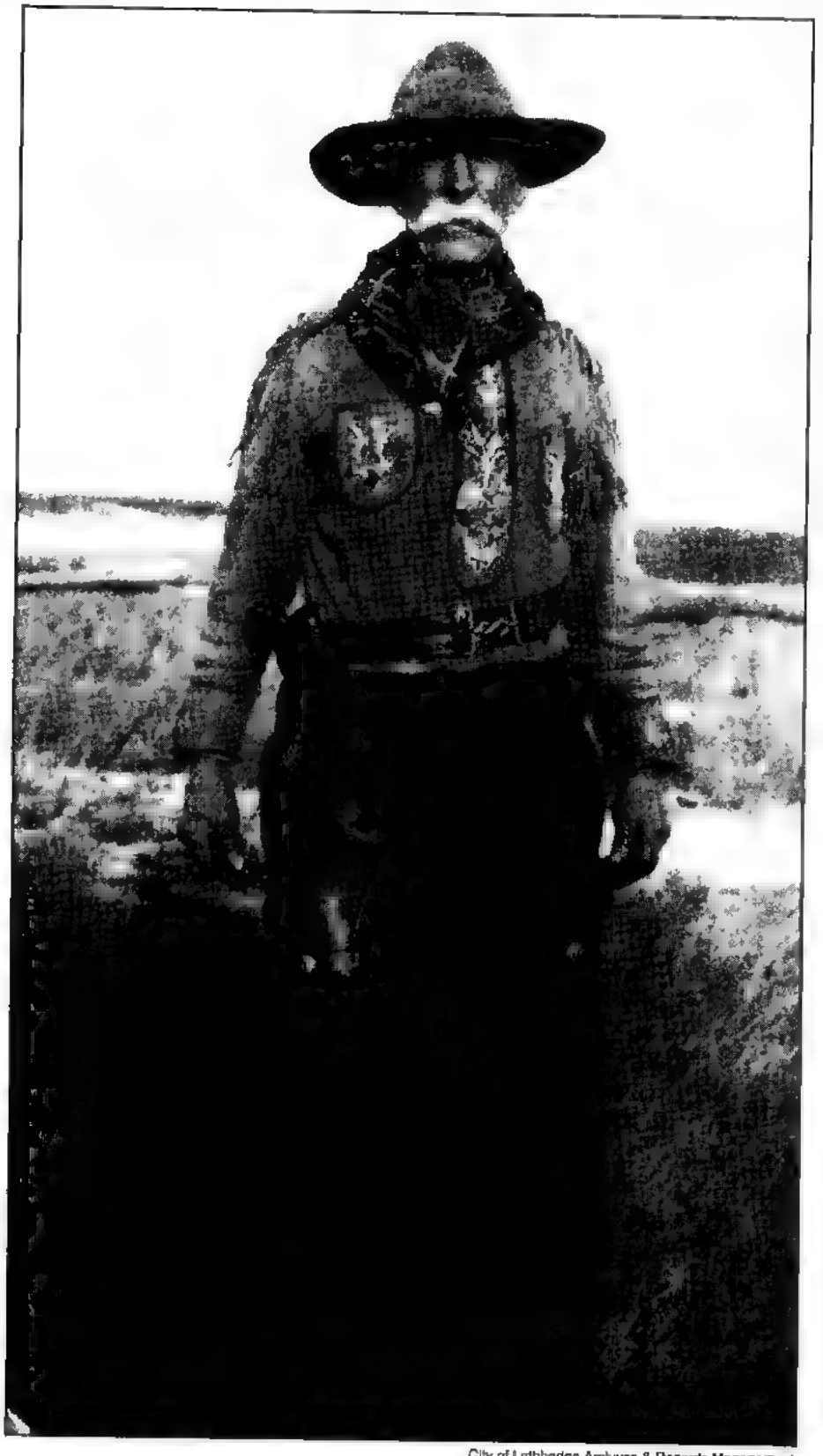


Glenbow Archives

The Rocky Mountain Rangers in formation near Medicine Hat. Chief Scout "Kootenai" Brown leads the column.

Brown's success as a lawman was short-lived. He quit the job when his pay was reduced.

Returning to the gold pan, Brown took out a placer claim with four other prospectors. It didn't work out, the claim was sold, and the five prospectors set out across the Rockies to check out rumors of yet another strike near the Hudson's Bay post of Fort Edmonton. None of the party knew wh at lay beyond the mountains, or had any idea just where Edmonton was. Nonetheless, they struck east toward the Continental Divide with one horse. Somewhere along the way the party had dealings with the Kootenay Indians, the meeting ending with the group leaving camp with four more horses than they came with. Likely, this incident was the basis for John George Brown gaining his nickname, "Kootenai," a corrupted spelling of the tribal name and a handle he would proudly endure for the rest of his life.



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John George "Kootenai" Brown, circa 1900.

The party entered the prairie through the Kootenay Pass, where Brown got his first glimpse at the area that would become his home. Once on the plains, the gold seekers followed the rivers east, believing the system they were following would bring them to Edmonton. They could not have known that they were actually on the South Saskatchewan, 500 miles off course. A few days out, they camped in a bluff of cottonwood trees by Seven Persons Creek, and came under attack by hostile Assiniboines. The warriors let fly with a volley of arrows, and Brown took a shaft in the back. The arrow came close to Kootenai's kidneys, and his companions were forced to remove it, and treat the open wound with turpentine.

From there, the party split up. Kootenai and a man by the name of Goldtooth decided to follow the South Saskatchewan and see where it would take them. Goldtooth lost his horse during the raid, so a boat was built for him out of a buffalo hide and wooden frame, and Kootenai followed on horseback along the river bank.

In a few weeks, the two men arrived at the Metis settlement of Duck Lake, where Kootenai and Goldtooth lived among the Metis for the winter, and left for Fort Garry in the early spring.

In 1866, Kootenai went to work for a Red River whiskey merchant named John Gibbons, trading between Portage La Prairie and the White Mud River to the Cree and Chippewa Indians for buffalo hides.

When a group of Minnesota Indians tried to steal whiskey from the post, Brown, Gibbons, and some American traders found themselves in the middle of a shoot-out. One trader and an Indian were killed. Kootenai Brown lost interest in the trade, and in April of 1868, he headed south to Dakota Territory and hired himself out to the Pony Express company of Major Charles A. Ruffee. For fifty dollars a month, Kootenai carried the United States mail from Fort Stevenson to Fort Benton, Montana, during the height of the Sioux Wars. Ruffee's route included a way station, each with a keeper and a supply of fresh horses. Eventually most of the station keepers were killed, and hundreds of company horses stolen. Ruffee's firm was soon bankrupted, and the United States. Army took over the route. Kootenai was rehired as a military courier.

While working for the Army, Kootenai Brown had a brief meeting at Fort Berthold, with another courier. Their conversation was brief, mostly "shop talk" about scouting, Indians, and dispatch work. Though Kootenai wouldn't see the scout again for over thirty years, he never forgot his encounter with William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody.

In May 1868, Kootenai Brown and Sioux half-blood Joe Martin assumed the route of two mail carriers killed by the Sioux between Fort Stevenson and Fort Totten. On their first trip they were captured by a Hunkpapa Sioux war party led by Sitting Bull. Had Martin and Brown not been able to speak the language, they both would have been killed instantly, but Martin dropped the name of a Sioux ally, Medicine Bear. With his buckskin apparel, suntanned leathery face, and flowing long hair, Kootenai was taken for a Sioux half-blood and the sympathetic chief allowed Brown and Martin to keep their lives. But as a warning to the Army, they were stripped of everything they had; horses, guns, mail, and even their clothing. During the night they left the camp and made their way back to Fort Stevenson.

Kootenai and Martin walked into the post the next afternoon, naked, blistered, and bitten raw by mosquitoes. As they walked in to the fort, a soldier asked Kootenai, "What's up?" "Oh, nothing much," was the reply. "The Sioux have your mail, horses, and our clothes, and came very near getting us. We have walked from Strawberry Lake." Kootenai and Martin then delivered Sitting Bull's message to the post commander, General Phillipe de Troibriand. The Sioux had no intention of meeting with the U.S. government's peace commissioners.

After that experience, Kootenai stayed off the trail and worked in a store at Fort Stevenson for a few months. In November 1868, he resumed carrying mail and helped to build five way stations between Forts Stevenson and Totten. Brown continued his career with the Pony Express, working often with the Metis Indians who also worked as mail carriers.

About 1869, Kootenai married young, dark-haired Olivia Lyonnais, a product of the Dakota-Metis settlements. They lived at Fort Totten until 1871. The Browns did not get wrapped up in the Metis uprising in the Red River settlement, though they surely had to have been made aware of it. In August of 1871, they moved to Fort Stevenson, where Kootenai took some time off from the army to join the Metis fall buffalo hunt. In 1872, he rejoined the U.S. Army Seventh Infantry as a scout and remained until June of 1874, when his pay was reduced due to the diminishing need for scouts. Refusing to work for a "pittance" he resigned and his family joined Olivia's people in the hunting camps.

For the next two to three years, the Browns lived a nomadic existence in the Metis camps, following one of the last native buffalo hunting parties. The vast herds of bison were rapidly dwindling into near nothingness. The parties ranged throughout the Cypress Hills, the Milk River Ridge, the Missouri Coteau, the Qu' Appelle Valley, and into the United States. Each hunter had several fast horses capable of outrunning stampeding herds, and men with the best horses, called "buffalo runners" made the most kills. Each family was responsible for butchering its own kills. The Metis' belief was not to kill more than what was needed, and excess meat was often distributed to needy families The shock was great when Brown realized that the herds were being decimated by hide hunters in the U.S., and that the Army was using the disappearance of the herds to keep Indians on their reserves, away from the Canadian border.

In 1876, Kootenai Brown was forced to go into a business with a group of wolf hunters, poisoning a buffalo carcass with strychnine, and letting the wolves' hunger do the work for them. Indians and settlers hated the wolfers, because of their poisoning of Indian dogs, and for their very rough and crude manner. But the profits were great. In the spring of 1877, Kootenai Brown came to Fort Benton to meet with fur merchant Louis Ell A violent disagreement ensued between Kootenai and Ell over an unsettled debt. At a camp a few miles out of town, the argument turned deadly. Kootenai savagely plunged a butcher knife into Louis Ell's abdomen, wrenched it sideways, and very nearly severed the man in half. Ell died in minutes. Realizing the seriousness of the situation, Kootenai galloped out of the camp, heading west.

In Fort Benton, Choteau County Sheriff William Rowe took immediate pursuit and overtook Brown about seventy miles up the Marias River. He was arrested and taken to the Benton jailhouse. During Kootenai's incarceration Rowe was replaced as sheriff by the colorful former chief trader of Fort Whoop-Up, John Jerome Healy. On July 27, 1877, Sheriff Healy arrived to serve breakfast, and was surprised to find that Brown had attempted suicide by thrusting a small knife into his chest.

Medical attention was adminis-

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True West Legends

JESSE JAMES

By Philip W. Steele

July 17, 1818—Robert Sallee James is born in Logan County, Kentucky, one of nine children.

January 29, 1825—Zerelda E. Cole is born to James and Sallie Cole.

February 27, 1827—Zerelda's father is accidentally killed by a horse. Her mother marries Robert Thomason, a widower with six children, who takes his new family to Clay County, Missouri. Zerelda does not get along with her stepfather; therefore, she chooses to stay in Kentucky and attend St. Catherine's Academy in Lexington under the guardianship of her uncle, James Lindsey of Stamping Ground.

1841—Recognizing that young Robert has the potential of becoming a Baptist minister like his father, John M. James, bankers Long, Norton and Nimrod of Russellville, Kentucky, arrange a scholarship for Robert to attend Georgetown College in Georgetown, Kentucky.

While attending Georgetown and leading a revival meeting in Stamping Ground, Kentucky, Robert James meets Zerelda

December 28, 1841—Zerelda and Robert James fall in love, and soon after their meeting, they are married in her uncle's home.

1843—Robert James graduates from Georgetown College at the top of his class. When Zerelda becomes pregnant with their first child, Robert takes her to live with her mother in Missouri while he remains in Kentucky working towards a master's degree at Georgetown.

January 10, 1843—Alexander Franklin James is born in Clay County, Missouri. Robert had planned to be in Missouri before Frank was born, but his travel is delayed by a very harsh winter, preventing river traffic.

1845—Deciding Clay County would be a good place to establish his Baptist ministry and also breed fine Kentucky horses, Robert acquires a 275-acre farm near the community of Centerville (now Kearney), Missouri, along the Kansas-Missouri border. Robert soon establishes a popular Baptist ministry and farm, and also completes his master's degree at Georgetown.

July 19, 1845—A second child, Robert R. James, is born to Zerelda and Robert, but the child only lives twenty-eight days.

September 5, 1847—Jesse Woodson James is born. Robert and Zerelda continue to build a successful farm while establishing two Baptist churches and helping found William Jewell College, a Baptist college in Liberty, Missouri, which still exists today.

November 25, 1849—A fourth child, Susan Lavenia James, is born on the James farm.

August 18, 1850—When gold is discovered in California, Clay County citizens desiring to go west to seek their fortunes convince Robert James to go along to minister to their needs. Soon after arriving in California, Robert dies suddenly in a Placerville gold camp, either of food poisoning or some form of stomach ailment. Frank is age seven, Jesse three, and Susan age one at the time of their father's death.

September 30, 1852—Realizing her children need an authority figure in their lives, Zerelda marries a neighboring farmer, Benjamin Simms, a widower with six children. This union is not a successful one, and divorce is eminent. Simms, however, was killed in a horse accident on September 25, 1855, before an official divorce could be granted.

1855—Winds of war begin blowing along the Kansas border country. Abolitionist parties led by such men as Jim Lane, John Brown, and others feel they are doing the Lord's work by raiding border farms. They steal slaves to release in Kansas, and burn crops, barns, and homes. These acts create an atmosphere of fear and hatred along the border that greatly affects Jesse James at an early age.

September 25, 1855—Still needing a man in the family to help direct her children, Zerelda marries Reuben Samuel, a medical doctor practicing in a general store owned by William James, one of Robert's brothers. Reuben loves children and proves to be a wonderful father for the James children.

May 4, 1861—Frank James, now eighteen, joins the Confederate Army in Kearney (Centerville) along with many of his farm friends from the border country. Jesse, though desperately wanting to serve, is only fourteen at the time and is not accepted.

May 1863—Frank James has left the regular army and is riding with the guerrilla forces under the leadership of William Clarke Quantrill. While plowing corn on a hill behind his home, Jesse is suddenly surrounded by a party of mounted federal soldiers. Attempting to get details from Jesse about the location

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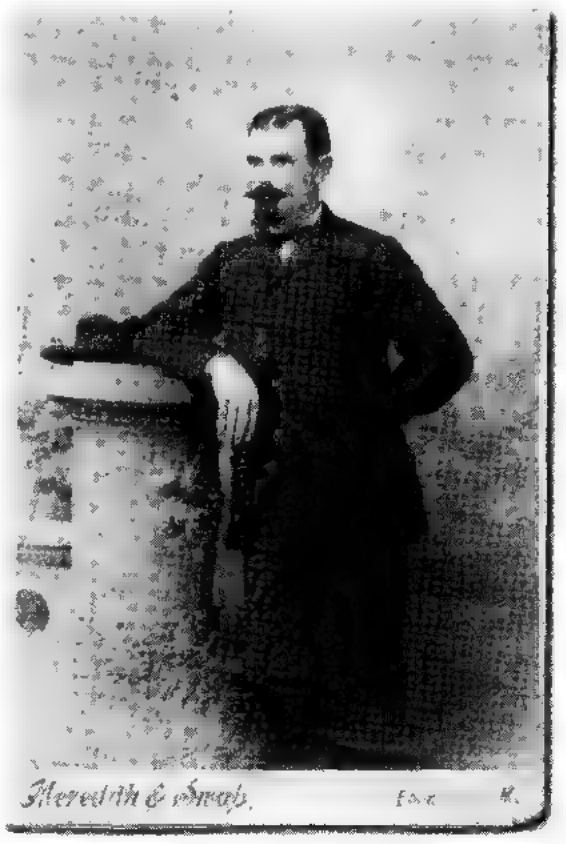
of the guerrillas' camps, the federals severely beat the boy with bullwhips. Despite the beating, Jesse staunchly refuses to give them any information. Half crawling to the house as the party rides away, Jesse finds Dr. Samuel hanging from a tree on the lawn. Jesse helps his mother cut him down. Reuben had survived three hangings Although not killed, his brain had been deprived of oxygen so long that he was thereafter a mental invalid and could no longer practice medicine. The events of that day thrust Jesse into the role of ferocious guerrilla soldier, joining his brother and friends to ride for Quantrill.

At the war's end, Frank James follows Quantrill to Kentucky, surrenders at Samuel Depot, and returns to Lexington, Missouri. Jesse follows Colonel Jo Shelby into Texas and returns to Missouri with plans to surrender. As Jesse's party approaches under a white flag, federal troops fire at them, and Jesse is seriously wounded in the right lung. Jesse returns to his farm home where he hopes to recover.

During this period, the Drakes Constitution, a document which basically takes away all rights as a United States citizen from anyone who had ever served with the irregular guerrilla forces during the Civil War, is passed by Congress.

February 13, 1866—Learning of Doctor Paul Eve, a lung specialist in Nashville, Tennessee, Jesse and Frank plan and carry out the robbery of the Clay County Savings Bank in Liberty, Missouri. Some $70,000 is taken. This robbery not only finances their trip to Tennessee, but also makes a clear statement about their opinion of the Drakes Constitution. The ten men in the gang, including guerrilla friends Cole, Jim, and Bob Younger, and others, become known as the James-Younger gang.

Newspaper owners and dime novel publishers find a large demand for their material as the United States struggles to put itself back together after the Civil War, and the James-Younger gang provides them with volumes. Although a few of the gang's activities are reported accurately by such writers, for the most part, the stories are fictionalized by these legend makers. Throughout the nation, many outlaws went free while lawmen sought the James-Younger gang for bank and train robberies they did not commit. The robberies they *were* guilty of are as follows: **February 13, 1866**, Clay County Savings, Liberty, Missouri; **October 30, 1866**, Mitchell & Company Bank, Lexington, Missouri; **March 10, 1868**, Southern Deposit Bank, Russellville, Kentucky; **December 7, 1869**, Daviess County Bank, Gallatin, Missouri; **June 3, 1871**, Corydon County Treasurer's Office, Corydon, Iowa; **April 29, 1872**, Columbia, Kentucky Bank; **September 26, 1872**, Kansas City Fair cashier; **May 27, 1873**, St. Genevieve Savings Association; **July 21, 1873**, Chicago-Rock Island & Pacific train, Adair, Iowa; **January 18, 1874**, Malvern-Hot Springs Stagecoach, Arkansas; **January 31, 1874**, St. Louis-Iron Mountain train, Gads Hill, Missouri;



Courtesy James Benson

This rare photo of Jesse James was found in a trunk which once belonged to Jesse's sister, Susan Lavenia Parmer. Susan passed the trunk on to her granddaughter, Sue Hale, who recently gave the photo to her nephew, James Benson

September 6, 1875, Huntington, West Virginia, bank; **July 7, 1876**, Missouri-Pacific train, Otterville, Missouri; **September 5, 1876**, Northfield, Minnesota, bank; **October 8, 1879**, Chicago-Alton train, Glendale, Missouri; **September 3, 1880**, Mammoth Cave, Kentucky, stagecoach; **March 11, 1881**, government paymaster, Muscle Shoals, Alabama; **July 15, 1881**, Chicago Rock Island train, Winston, Missouri; **September 7, 1881**, Chicago-Alton train, Blue Cut, Missouri.

April 24, 1874—In spite of strong family objections, Jesse marries Zee Mimms, his first cousin. Although the James brothers are almost constantly on the run, they do manage to start families. Frank marries Anna Ralston on June 24 of the same year. Jesse and Zee have two children, Jesse Edwards, born August 31, 1875, and Mary Susan, born June 17, 1879. Frank and Anna have only one son, Robert Franklin, born February 6, 1878.

1875—Because of their success at robbing railroads and banking institutions, the Pinkerton Detective Agency is employed to hunt down the James-Younger gang. On the evening of January 26, Pinkerton men toss a bomb into the James cabin in hopes of flushing out Zerelda's famous boys.

Jesse and Frank aren't in the home. Zerelda, Dr. Samuel, and their son Archie, are. Archie dies from the resulting explosion, which tears off Zerelda's arm at the

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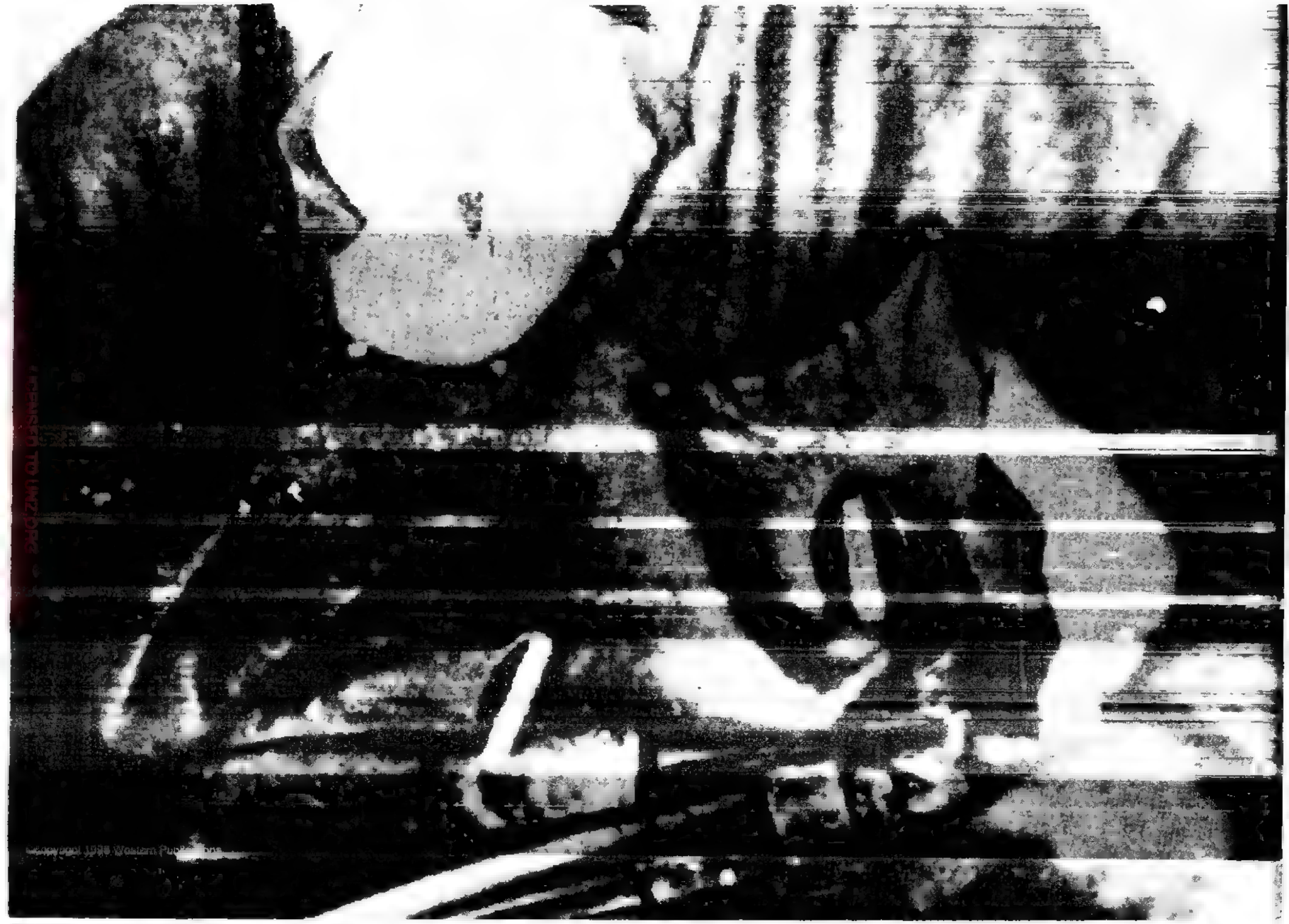
TRUE WEST LEGENDS

JESSE JAMES



True West Legends: Jesse James

elbow. Not surprisingly, the maiming of an innocent mother and killing of an innocent youth create even stronger public sentiment for Jesse and Frank James, their families, and associates.

September 5, 1876—The gang's attempt to rob the Northfield, Minnesota, bank is devastating. Although Jesse and Frank escape, Cole, Jim, and Bob Younger, are brought down. Shot to pieces by a posse tracking them into Haskin's Slew, the Youngers are sentenced to twenty-five years in the Stillwater State Prison. From this point on, the James brothers find few experienced associates they can trust.

On a stormy fall evening in 1881, gang member Bill Ryan, who had been with the James brothers during their Muscle Shoals payroll robbery, stops by Earthman's Store and Saloon in the White's Creek, Tennessee, community. Drinking heavily, Ryan begins firing his pistols wildly. The sheriff subdues the drunken Ryan, who is taken to the Nashville jail. Frank James reads of Ryan's arrest in the *Nashville Banner* the next morning and quickly notifies Jesse. Fearing what Ryan might say about their Nashville hideout, Frank and Jesse gather their belongings and leave Tennessee. Frank takes his wife and son to Virginia, while Jesse takes Zee and their children to Kansas City by train to stay with the Mimms family.

Christmas Eve, 1881— Jesse, using the alias Tom Howard, rents his final home at 1318 Lafayette Street in St. Joseph, Missouri. Jesse has grown extremely tired of living in constant fear of being recognized or shot in the back for the $10,000 reward being offered for him. Jesse longs to live a normal life as a peaceful farmer and to enjoy his wife and children once more. Noting a farm for sale in Nebraska in a newspaper classified ad, Jesse negotiates the purchase of the property. He needs to somehow find a way to finance the farm. The bank at Platte City, Missouri, is chosen to have the honor.

Most all past gang members are by now in jail, dead, or retired from crime. Jesse, therefore, has only a few to draw from for assistance. Charlie Ford had ridden with the gang on one occasion and convinces Jesse he can be depended on. Charlie also somehow satisfies Jesse that his brother, Robert Newton Ford, will prove to be a dependable associate. The Fords then come to Jesse's home to plan the Platte City engagement.

April 3, 1882—After several days of planning, the Ford boys, Jesse's children, and Jesse enjoy a large breakfast Zee has prepared. Jesse, the first to leave the table, walks into the parlor and opens the front door and curtain to let the fresh spring air into the stuffy parlor. Afraid of being seen from the street, Jesse removes his gunbelt and lays it on the parlor bed. The sun highlights dust accumulation on a wall sampler, "God Bless This Home," which had been a wedding present. He also notices that a picture of his favorite horse, "Stonewall Jackson," is hanging crooked. Jesse stands up as the two Fords enter the room, picks up a feather duster, and moves a cane chair into a position from which he can reach the sampler. As Jesse stands on the chair, he hears a click from Bob Ford's Smith and Wesson .45 and he turns his head to the right slightly as Ford fires. The slug enters Jesse's skull below the right ear and lodges in his left temple. (It would later be removed by a coroner.) Jesse James falls to the floor, dead at age thirty-four.

WHAT TO READ:

Jesse and Frank James: The Family History, by Phillip W. Steele.
Pelican Publishing, 1987.

Jesse James Was His Name, by William A. Settle, Jr.
Bison Books, 1977.

Desperate Men: The James Gang and the Wild Bunch, by James D. Horan.
Doubleday, 1949

Outlaws: An Illustrated History of the James-Younger Gang, by Marley Brant.
Elliott & Clark, 1997.

WHERE TO GO

Kearney, Missouri, hosts the annual "Jesse James Festival" each September. Nearby are the James' family graves, the James farm and museum, and the home of Jesse's sister, Mary James Barr. For more information contact the Clay County Visitors Bureau at (800) 792-7691.

Northfield, Minnesota, celebrates the defeat of the James-Younger gang with an annual festival the first weekend after Labor Day. The Northfield Bank Museum and Northfield Historical Society highlight the famous robbery attempt. Call (507) 645-9268 for more information.

Adair, Iowa, is the site of the Jesse and Frank James' first train robbery. Adair also hosts a festival each year, celebrating the first recorded train robbery in the West.

St. Joseph, Missouri, hosts a Jesse James Weekend every April. The home where Jesse was killed by Bob Ford now houses a museum at Twelfth and Penn streets.

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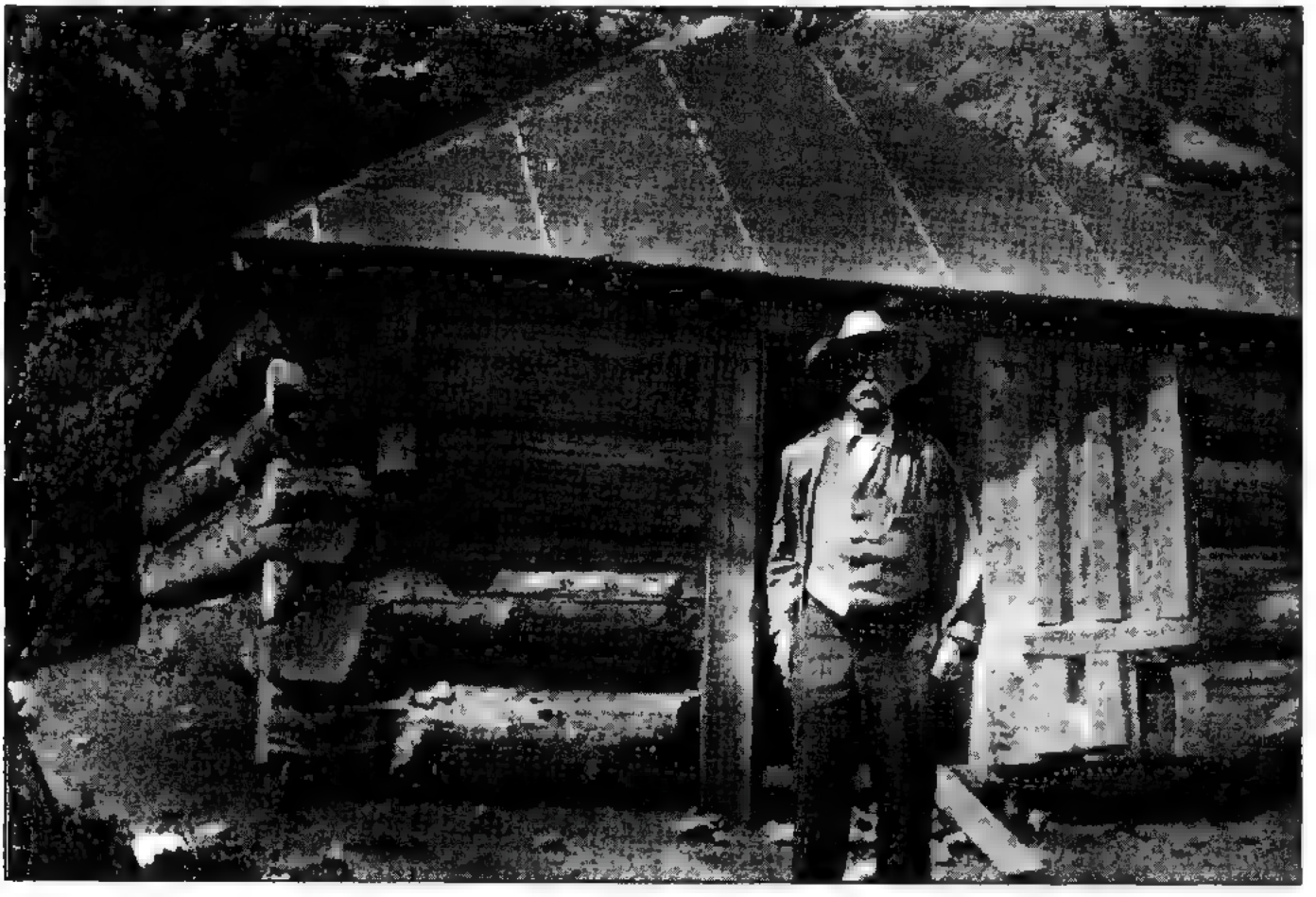
tered, and by autumn, Kootenai was fit to travel and stand trial before a grand jury in Helena, on the charge of murder. Brown entered his plea, not guilty, by reason of self-defense. Two days later, he was acquitted and saved from hanging. The trial was a great turning point in the life of Kootenai Brown. Though he rarely spoke of the incident, there is little court evidence to explain why the case was dismissed. He would state in later years that the two sweetest words in the English language were "not guilty." He vowed to never again enter the United States.

Kootenai packed up his family, Olivia and their two daughters, and moved to Waterton Lake, the mountain region he had fallen in love with eleven years before. He built a cabin on the shore of the lake and proceeded to do exactly as he liked. The abundance of trout in the lakes and streams provided him with a steady source of income, as he could sell a wagon load of fish in Macleod for $75; a fortune in the 1870s. Kootenai enjoyed Macleod, where he could have a drink and chat-up a various cross-section of society, from Mounties to bull-whackers to Fort Benton characters, such as H.A. "Fred" Kanouse, a notorious and unrepentant whiskey trader, constantly in trouble with the North West Mounted Police.

Kootenai and Kanouse entered into a trading post partnership on the eastern shore of Waterton Lake, and sold goods mostly to Kootenay, Nez Perce, Flathead, and Blackfoot tribesmen from Montana. Furs were swapped for dry goods and whiskey, even though selling alcohol to Indians was prohibited on both sides of the border. Brown and Kanouse also liked to gamble with their customers, competing in foot races, horse races, and target shooting. The two were less than honest in their dealings, however, and on several occasions were forced to turn back their winnings in exchange for their lives. It wasn't long before American authorities discouraged their charges from crossing the border, and Brown & Kanouse were put out of business.

Brown was also beginning to establish a reputation as a first rate hunting and tour guide. He kept busy visiting ranchers and settlers in the area, occasionally stopping in for a drink. The pioneers of Pincher Creek were very endearing of his visits and his help. In 1881, Kootenai convinced Senator Matthew Cochrane of Quebec, that the new Alberta district was the place to locate a large scale ranch. Cochrane accepted the advice and took out a large lease at the Big Hill, west of Calgary. When the winter of 1882-83 proved to be a disaster for the Cochranes, Kootenai advised the senator's directors to take up another range near the Waterton River where the winters were milder.



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Kootenai Brown in front of his cabin at Waterton Lakes National Park, circa 1911.

In 1884, the senator's son, William F. Cochrane, came west to manage the Waterton operation, and always appreciated Kootenai's help and advice.

When the Canadian Pacific railroad began to bring in more prominent ranching investors, Kootenai began to get plum assignments as a guide. Some of these ranchers included A. Stavely Hill of the Oxley Ranch, and the Earl of Latham in 1883. British tourists could not get over the sight of an educated British Army officer, looking much like an American mountain man, with flowing hair, buckskins, and broad slouch hat. Nonetheless, they were suitably impressed by the man's expertise as a guide, as he led groups into British Columbia on hunting and fishing expeditions.

Tragedy struck Kootenai's life sometime in 1883. While away on one of his trips, Olivia gave birth to their only son, Leo. Olivia never fully recovered from the childbirth and died sometime after, the date being hard to pinpoint. She was buried along the western shore of Waterton Lake. Unable to take care of the children, Brown arranged to have Father Albert Lacombe take them in. The family was scattered between mission schools and convents and was never reunited.

Kootenai was in Macleod in March of 1885, and heard a great deal of rumors and rumblings of the actions of the revolutionary Louis Riel, said to have delivered ultimatums to the federal government. Riel was rallying the Metis at Batoche, and the prime minister, Sir John A. MacDonald, had called out the militia. The threat of a native uprising in western Canada was imminent. Soon after, Kootenai left town, and as was his custom, went into the mountains, not to be seen or heard from again for nearly a month.

In Kootenai's absence, events at Duck Lake whipped the entire nation into a lather. On March 26, 1885, a Metis force under the command of Riel and his adjutant general, Gabriel Dumont, clashed with, and defeated, a combined force of volunteers and Mounted Police at Duck Lake. Soon after, Cree Indians, seemingly in alliance with Riel, attacked the towns of Battleford and Frog Lake. As militias from eastern Canada were sent to the upper Saskatchewan, ranchers in Alberta took matters in their own hands and prepared for trouble with the local tribes, rumored to be in sympathy with Riel.

Both photos courtesy City of Lethbridge Archives & Records Management

Kootenai Brown at his Waterton Lakes home, circa 1905. (Inset) "Isabella," the second wife of Kootenai Brown.

A Pincher Creek rancher and military officer, Captain John Stewart, gathered 115 ranchers, ex-Mounties, farmers, and American cowboys into an official Dominion Militia Cavalry corps for the protection of the towns, ranches, and railroads of the ranch country. These men became the Rocky Mountain Rangers. The short, unglorious history of the Rangers has been greatly enhanced by the addition of John George "Kootenai" Brown. On the rare occasions that historians ever mention the Rangers, it is almost always in the same breath as Brown.

As the rebellion unfolded, Kootenai Brown had not heard anything more about the trouble. On April 20 at the ford of the Waterton River, he met with William Cochrane who related the happenings to Brown. Kootenai's response was clear. He spurred his horse to Fort Macleod, setting a record of forty miles in less than a day, to offer his services to the Rangers as a scout. Kootenai marched with Captain Stewart to Lethbridge and Medicine Hat, where the Rangers set up headquarters.

The march was nothing to write home about. It was more like a long, boring trail ride. For these American, Canadian, and British cowboys, raised on tales of the U.S. cavalry and their dashing exploits in the Indian Wars, they might just as well have wondered what all the fuss was about. While their counterparts from Ontario were fighting the Metis and Crees in the north, the Bloods, Piegans, and Blackfoot were quiet. There were always loose stories of Indian sightings coming across the border, and some Rangers did exchange shots, but for the most part, the Indians were always heard about and never seen.

At a place called Seven Persons Creek, Chief Scout Brown recalled the incident where on that very location, twenty years earlier, he had taken an arrow in the back. Now, in 1885, Kootenai and his fellow Rangers revisited the scene of the battle, pulled five slugs out of a cottonwood tree, and discovered two Assiniboine skulls along the creek bank. The incident was a stark reminder to the younger Rangers of an earlier time, and what the unit could be facing if they were to see action.

By July, the rebellion was over and the Rangers returned to Fort Macleod and were discharged. For his efforts, Kootenai received the North West Medal and a land grant of 320 acres, which he took near Waterton Lake. Along with the "trophies of war," Kootenai brought a new wife back to Waterton. While patrolling with the Rangers in the Cypress Hills, Kootenai Brown met and took in an Assiniboine Indian woman, Blue Flash of Lightning, or as Kootenai called her, "Nechemouse." Neighbors referred to her as Isabella. As a wife and companion, Isabella was devoted beyond belief to the old mountain man, and was very adept at hunting, butchering meat, and curing and tanning hides. She accompanied him often on his hunting and fishing trips, and held down the fort when Kootenai would leave to do occasional scouting or herding work for the North West Mounted police.

In 1887, Kootenai guided Superintendent Sam Steele and a company of Mounted Police through the Crowsnest Pass, on their return from assignment at Kootenay Landing. In 1895, he ended his service with the Police, and began a fight to have his beloved Kootenay Lakes set aside as a national park to preserve the rapidly disappearing species such as bighorn sheep, grizzly, and mountain goat. Brown recruited several allies to put pressure on the government. On May 30, 1895, the government set aside the Kootenay Forest Reserve.

In January of 1901, Kootenai was appointed fishery officer for the reserve, and in 1910, was named a forest ranger. He harassed the government constantly to have the reserve expanded, and finally in 1911, the Kootenay Forest Reserve became Waterton National Park. In 1914, the park was enlarged to 423 square miles. As a forest ranger, Kootenai was responsible for supervision of road building, trail cutting, and fighting forest fires. But when Waterton required a full time superintendent, Brown was passed over, due to his advanced age.

Kootenai accidentally created a new industry, when he discovered oil on Cameron Creek, the first petroleum found in southern Alberta, and helped develop it into Alberta's first oil well. Together with William Aldridge, a Mormon farmer from Cardston, they collected the oil in gallon jars and sold it to local farmers for wagon axle grease. Soon, speculators began trading in stock and bringing in drilling equipment. But the boom didn't last, as profitable production could not be sustained at Oil City area, as it had come to be known. Bringing heavy equipment in on muddy roads half way up a mountain did much to eat away expenses, and Kootenai didn't make a dime.

In 1906, a Mexican-Indian rancher in Montana sold his 600 bison to the Canadian government, and arranged to ship them north. However, only 410 were captured, and the remaining free bison were offered back to tradition. The rancher invited as many old frontiersman as he could think of to a 1907 pioneer party on his Flathead Valley ranch, the feature of which was the last wild buffalo hunt ever held in North America. Among the invitees were the now-legendary showman, Buffalo Bill Cody, and the quiet guardian of Waterton Lake, Kootenai Brown. Both successful in their days' hunt, the two old scouts sat down and shared reminiscences of frontier days on both sides of the border.

On July 18, 1916, John George "Kootenai" Brown passed away in his sleep. He bequeathed all possessions to Isabella. The legend was buried beside his beloved Waterton Lake, beside his first wife, Olivia, and was later joined by Isabella at the same grave site.

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PIERRE ESPRIT RADISSON

The Undiscovered Discoverer Of The West

By Spring de Leon

Illustrated By Al Napoletano

In 1658, before Lewis and Clark set foot on western soil, and before the West gave way to cowboys, cattlemen, and outlaws, Pierre Esprit Radisson was directly responsible for discovering land west of the Mississippi. As well as claiming the title of discoverer, Radisson founded Fort Nelson in northern Manitoba and helped convince the English to establish Hudson's Bay Company in 1670.

A hearty and adventurous Frenchman, Radisson had always thought it his "destiny to discover many wild nations." And he did, though his name doesn't receive as much historical attention as it should because he defied the French government by failing to share fur profits with them. The fact that he proved indifferent to any particular religion didn't help matters. A man endowed with a yet unheard of liberalism in a time of religious persecution, Radisson's name went unmentioned, along with his discoveries. It wasn't until 1885, when manuscripts of his journeys written by himself, were discovered in Hudson's Bay House, London, and the British museum, that Radisson's connection to his monumental feat gained greater attention. His journals put early writings about him to shame. His story had been strewn with falsehoods by French and English historians dedicated to their government.

Two hundred and fifty copies of the collected writings were published by the Prince Society of Boston under the title *Voyages Of Peter Esprit Radisson*. Manuscripts of his last two journeys were published by the Canadian Archives. Although the accuracy of dates and detailed routes remain questionable, the manuscripts are essential for providing distinct portrayal of early Indian ways of life and northern country layout.

Just as Radisson's restless spirit brought him to the New World to discover what is now Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas, and the Canadian North West, his bold courage saved his life on more than one occasion when encountering the Iroquois Indians, of whom he later became an adopted and honored member.

His affiliation with the Iroquois began in the spring of 1652, when he was abducted by them. Then just seventeen years of age, Radisson had come from France a year earlier and was living in the small fort of Three Rivers, New France. Aware that tom-

ahawking Iroquois were lurking nearby, but scoffing at the danger, Radisson and two of his friends ventured off the settlement to duck hunt at nearby Lake St. Peter. Radisson's companions became fearful and turned back after hearing from a herdsman along the way that Indians were up ahead in the woods. Laughing at their alarm, Radisson continued on. It was during his walk back to Three Rivers, laden with a catch of waterfowl, that the Iroquois attacked. Radisson put up a brave fight, firing his pistols and doing his best to escape. But the Iroquois seized him, stripped him of clothes and weapons, and dragged him back into the woods to their camp. They had already scalped and killed his friends but decided to spare his life for several reasons. Besides witnessing his refusal to turn back to Three Rivers out of fear, the Iroquois had seen how Radisson's courage failed to falter when they ambushed him despite the fact he was outnumbered.

Radisson proved a broad-minded fellow, open to any race, and accepted Indian customs. Strangely, he didn't try to make an immediate escape though given chances. Perhaps his fascination for the Indians outweighed any animosity he felt towards his capture or the death of his comrades. His lack of revenge however was the complete antithesis of the people back in Three Rivers. When they learned what had happened to Radisson and his two companions, they captured a Mohawk chief who belonged to the Iroquois tribe and burned him to death. The Iroquois returned the act by killing the governor of Three Rivers and eleven Frenchmen. The husband of Radisson's sister, Marguerite, was among those murdered.

Radisson must have found out from boasting Iroquois warriors responsible for the killings what had transpired, but still he made no attempt to escape until the approaching autumn when an Algonquin Indian persuaded him to do so. In his haste to make a successful getaway, Radisson fatally axed a sleeping Iroquois. It was an action

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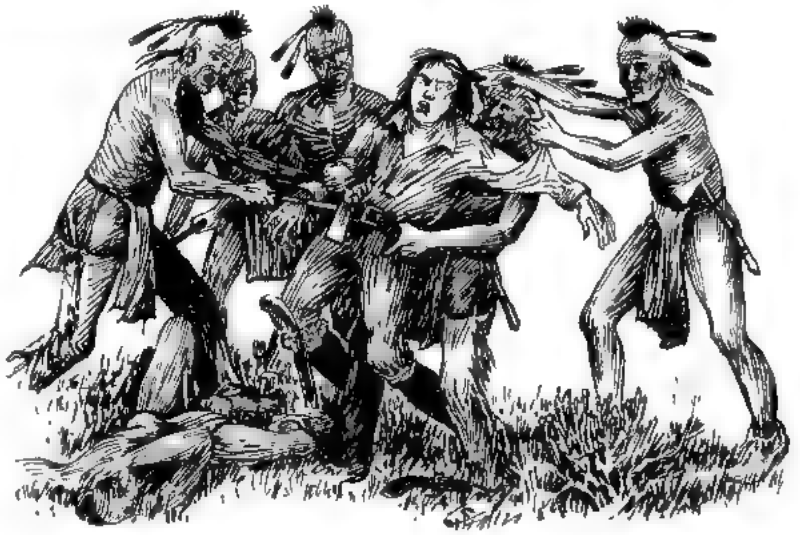

he paid for. Before he could reach Three Rivers, the Iroquois captured and tortured him near death for three days. When told he could finally go free, again Radisson declined the opportunity and stayed with the Iroquois until the autumn of 1653 when he secretly left them and sailed to Europe, which he reached in January 1654.

On his third trip back to Three Rivers from France, Radisson found it hard to resist exploring yet untrodden territory beyond Saulte St. Marie and what is known today as the Great Northwest. He was one of many young Frenchmen craving for recognition as a first explorer, but the only one with a dangerous and stubborn enough perseverance to achieve such an accomplishment. He had only heard of intriguing facts associated with the Great Beyond. Far away there was a lake "Oumipeg" where roaming tribes of Assinibones, Crees, and Sioux were at constant battle. But more importantly, a generous supply of beaver pelts were annually brought down the Ottawa to Three Rivers by Algonquin Indians. That meant vast wealth to a man knowledgeable of the fur trade.

Teaming up with Medard Chouart des Groseilliers, a New France fur trader who had married Radisson's widowed sister, Marguerite, the two adventure-seekers left Three Rivers one June night in 1658, accompanied by a group of Algonquoin guides. In order to elude watchful Iroquois, they journeyed only at night. They arrived in Montreal after three days. From there they continued by way of canoe on Lake St. Louis. Radisson had prepared for inevitable hardships during his quest, and encountered the first when he and the others were forced to sleep the first night in their canoes to avoid an Indian ambush. But Radisson refused to feel dispirited and turn back.

There has been some confusion as to whether Radisson paddled on the Ottawa or the St. Lawrence during his journey. The description from his writings seems to point to the Ottawa, though it's not certain. Also in his writings he refers to coming across a waterfall, which is believed to be the Chaudiere Falls of the Ottawa. Enduring hunger and more Indian interference, Radisson and his group crossed the range between the upper Ottawa and Lake Huron, and finally came upon Green Bay on Lake Michigan—the end of the trail for any previous white man.

Radisson's enthusiasm was at its peak. What is now Wisconsin was his first triumph as an explorer. He couldn't help but be captivated by the powerful rushing of the upper

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Mississippi, which he laid eyes upon between April and July, 1659. It was here he saw what he had only heard of: limitless prairie and hearty forests. Here was the land of potential, where wealth awaited for those who claimed it. Anxious to discover what else lay ahead, Radisson crossed a virgin region between the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers, encountering Mandans, Sioux, and Crees, all of whom treated him cordially. Having explored southwest as possibly far as Iowa or Nebraska and having established his presence through the Dakota, Montana, and Minnesota territory, Radisson was eager to see what awaited him in the Northwest.

The winter of 1659 proved one of the coldest in Canadian history, but Radisson set out from his camp near the chain of lakes and rivers between Minnesota and Canada accompanied by one hundred and fifty Cree hunters. They trekked to Green Bay, where a rendezvous was to be held and supplies traded for beaver furs. Although this trip had been beneficial as far as furs were concerned, Radisson experienced disappointment. He had heard from the Crees of an almighty salt sea in the North (Hudson Bay), thought of fur trade possibilities, but then realized this sea lay much farther than he had anticipated. Before returning to Three Rivers to rest and be with family members, Radisson presented many thick bundles of beaver furs to Quebec. He received royal treatment because New France's supply of furs was at an alarming low

In all actuality, Radisson's discovery of the Great Northwest had already won him much recognition, quite an accomplishment for a young Frenchman in his mid-twenties. Still, Radisson wasn't to be satisfied until he saw the sea of the North for himself. The French depended solely on furs for wealth. Beaver furs were brought to Montreal by willing Indians from the area around this mysterious sea, and Radisson wanted to find the source in order to gain firsthand access.

Since hearing of the sea of the North, Radisson wanted to keep such knowledge to himself until physically encountering it. But his secret leaked out and he soon learned that the son of the governor at Three Rivers, two Jesuit priests, six other Frenchmen, and a group of Indians were planning to venture up the Saguenay for the bay. Despite the fact he was invited to accompany them as a guide, Radisson couldn't help but feel agitated. He was an explorer, a man who had discovered a lot of land practically on his own, and he wasn't about to serve as a summoned escort. His agitation crept up several notches when they stuck to their plans and left for Hudson Bay in May 1661. Radisson wasted no time in putting his own plans to action, unwilling to allow a handful of inexperienced explorers to claim his discovery. No sooner had he discussed with Groseilliers they should soon leave, when complications arose.

New France traders were required to obtain a license, and failure to do so meant harsh penalties. When Radisson and Groseilliers asked permission from the French governor, D'Avaugour, to embark on their expedition, D'Avaugour agreed to give a license only if he received half the profits from furs acquired on the trip. Radisson was offended. Hadn't he just a year earlier gladly replenished New France's supply of furs? If it hadn't been for him, New France would have financially collapsed. Radisson refused to agree to such terms and was in turn forbidden to go anywhere. But swayed by

visiting Indians supportive of his desire, Radisson stole out late one night in August from Three Rivers with Groseilliers.

Eluding and fighting with Iroquois Indians along the way, they reached Lake Superior in October and were awed by the country's intriguing layout and colorful display of autumn. They leisurely explored the lake's south shore, discovering copper deposits nearby and coming across stone arches on the Island of Michilimackinac. Radisson dubbed the arch St. Peter because that was his Christian name. He and Groseilliers were the first white men to travel from the south to the north, where bodies of water trail from the Minnesota lake area to the flatlands of Manitoba. Radisson now headed northwest and found encampments of Crees.

Bone-chilling weather soon set in. Forced to cease travel due to the freezing elements, Radisson helped build a crude shelter which was to be the first fort, the first fur post between the Missouri River and the North Pole, and the first establishment of civilization in the Northwest. It was a hurried but significant project erected by the side of a river somewhere west of Duluth in either present-day Minnesota or northwestern Ontario. Indians who had heard of white men wintering in their territory came to the fort for scrutiny. Radisson suspected them of having thoughts to raid the fort for guns and hid away what firearms they didn't need. Taking advantage of the fact that the Indians still didn't know much about the white man, Radisson placed a circle of gunpowder rolled in birch bark around the fort and lit it. The Indians were impressed by the magic ring and refrained from stealing or causing any problems.

For years to come, pioneers would venture to the west and follow Radisson's actions of habitation to fulfill a dream. Radisson had again achieved an outstanding feat, but winter was hardly in the mood to grace the accomplishment favorably. Snow fell steadily for days, rendering animals scarce and Radisson near starvation. In the spring, when wild game became more accessible, Radisson regained his vitality and resumed the journey. He entered the northwestern region and stayed with the Sioux for six weeks, intrigued by their use of peat instead of wood for fire. A trail ran northwest between the Missouri and the Saskatchewan which the Crees and Sioux used frequently. It is thought this trail is what Radisson took until he crossed the Minnesota-Canadian border. He plotted a shortcut across the lakes of Minnesota and was suddenly delayed on his way to finding the Bay of the North after falling through thin ice. Badly strained, he lay for eight days on the shore in sheer pain. Radisson knew he could only grit his teeth if he were to get anywhere and pushed doggedly on for the next five days. Groseilliers was at this time among the Crees hunting for food. Hungry and cold, Radisson was found shuddering in the snow by the Indians whom his brother-in-law had sent out in search of him. After recuperating in the company of the Crees, Radisson continued on until achieving his goal.

Radisson is credited not for initially discovering Hudson Bay, but for discovering a route overland from the Great Lakes to the Bay of the North. Needless to say, even though Radisson returned to Quebec with an ample wealth of furs, retribution for his disobedience awaited. The fact that the governor had sent out his own men to find a way to Hudson Bay, but to no avail, didn't help his sore disposition. He confiscated the furs and slapped Radisson with an exorbitant fine. It left Radisson with only a fifth of the worth of furs. Though a Frenchman, Radisson felt disgust towards the French government. Twice now he had rescued New France from the threshold of bankruptcy with his furs, but here he was being treated without gratitude. He transferred his fur trading services to the English for a time, and then back to the French. He switched allegiance between the two until his efforts were acknowledged by the English, who pensioned him in his later years.

Radisson stuck to his ambition of establishing a business of beaver trade and began a tireless effort to establish a fur company at Hudson Bay. He had hoped to persuade France, but they perceived his desire as being unrealistic and responded with annoyance and mockery because he had no proof to show. The English were more open to Radisson's enthusiasm, but ill-timed weather, bad luck, and government hardships delayed successful action until 1668. The English finally provided two boats for the trip to Hudson Bay. Radisson stayed behind in England to tend to organizational affairs while Groseilliers undertook the voyage to further explore trade possibilities. The English granted a royal charter following the successful journey. The Hudson's Bay Company was finally born on May 2, 1670.

Radisson's love for the land led him to discover part of a continent that lay three thousand miles wide between the Atlantic and the Pacific, establishing that it really existed, rather than a shortcut to Asia as his contemporaries thought. But for all that he discovered and all the wealth of furs he provided to France and England, Radisson himself remained a man of limited resources due to both personal choice and greedy statesmen. He drew a small allowance from the English until 1710 when the payments halted. In that year, Radisson is thought to have ceased living. The exact date and whereabouts of his death are lodged in historical oblivion as there is no documented record of what happened to him.

Pierre Radisson was criticized in his own time for possessing a nature too impetuous for his own good. But had he been a man to ponder the consequences of his actions, the initiated path he cleared for others to follow might have been delayed and the eventful West as we know it entirely altered.

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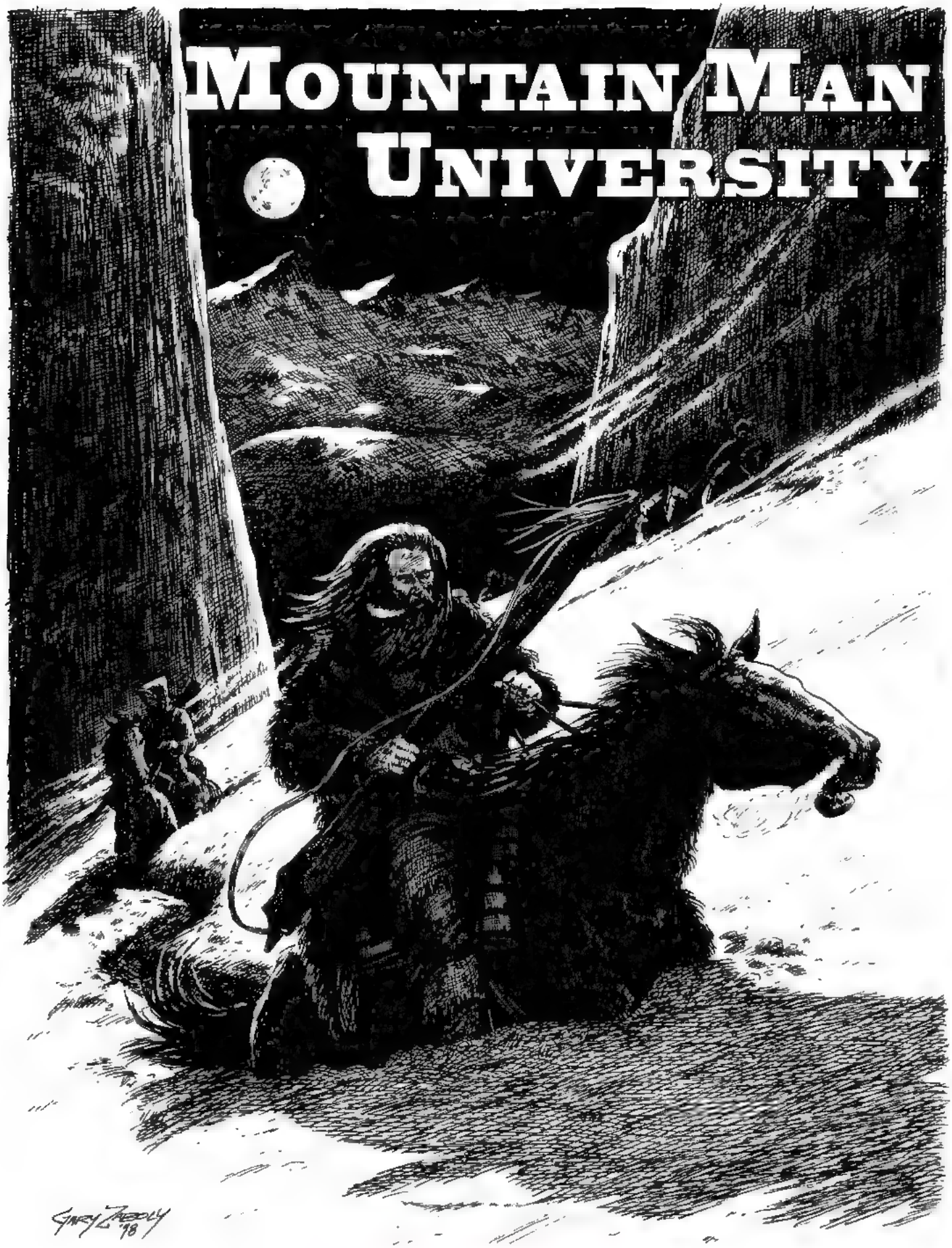
Mountain Man University



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The gleaming silver needle plunged beneath the crimson-coated skin, reappeared, then dived again into the dangling remains of Jedediah Smith's ear. James Clyman set his jaw and continued the grim task of stitching his captain's head back together with a needle and thread from his supply pack. There had been no time for second thoughts. He knew Smith wouldn't last long unless he could contain the flow of blood from the gaping wounds the marauding grizzly bear had inflicted.

Stitch by agonizing stitch, Clyman pieced together the mangled portions of Smith's ravaged head. When Clyman had seen the grizzly's teeth clamp firmly on Jedediah's head, it looked like the end of the expedition for his friend and captain. But James Clyman was in the process of becoming a "mountain man." And in the mountains there was no room for the faint of heart.

Because of his unfaltering response, his captain would live to tell about the near-death attack. Clyman's account of the harrowing incident in an 1823 entry in his journal was a classic piece of frontier understatement. "...This gave us a lisson," he reflected, with more spirit than spelling ability, "on the character of the grissly Baare which we did not forget."

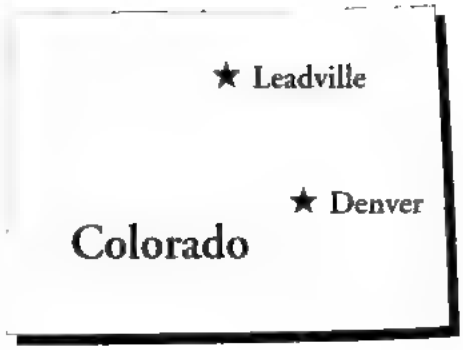
This would be only one of many "lissons" the wilderness would teach him during the next few years. Before his term at "Mountain Man University" would end, his subjects would include not only the character of the grizzly bear, but classes in bloodthirsty Indians, blinding subzero blizzards, and treacherous mountain passes.

Clyman would enroll in this school of mountain life in 1823. During a visit to St. Louis, Missouri, he heard stories about a daring expedition taken the previous year by William Henry Ashley and a band of explorers. Ashley had recruited a small crew by placing an advertisement in the St. Louis *Missouri Gazette*. The notice addressed "Enterprising Young Men" and stated that "The subscriber wishes to engage one hundred men, to ascend the river Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two or three years." Unfortunately, the engagement was destined to last a considerably shorter amount of time. One of the trading barges sank not long after they left port, taking with it thousands of dollars of valuable equipment and Ashley's hopes for a successful first expedition.

Ashley knew that a successful explorer needed to have a rugged perseverance. He couldn't simply give up. After all, he had tossed away a distinguished life of culture to follow his mountain dreams. He had previously established himself in St. Louis society as a surveyor and real-estate speculator. In addition, Ashley had made his mark in the military. He had advanced to the position of brigadier general of the state militia.

As Missouri organized into a state in 1821, Ashley became lieutenant governor and the presiding officer of the legislature. His social and political success, however, could not compete with the prospects of making a fortune in the fur trade of the undeveloped West. Along with his real estate partner, Andrew Henry, he walked away from the cultivated life to become a mountain man.

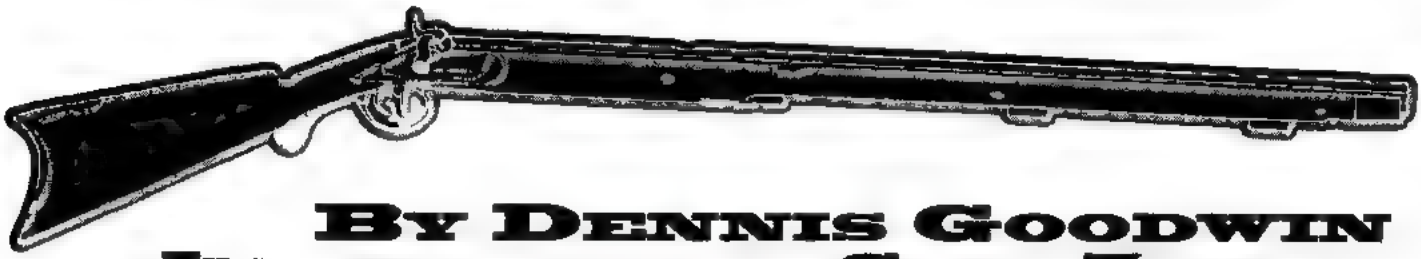
When Ashley met James Clyman, he recognized him as being a step above most of the potential trappers he had encountered. Clyman could cypher and enjoyed reading Shakespeare, Byron, and the Bible. Ashley offered him a position for a dollar a day to help recruit men for his trapping brigade. He also agreed that Clyman would join the expedition.



Ashley's offer came at an ideal time. Clyman's efforts at farming in Indiana and surveying in Illinois hadn't filled him with the excitement he was hungry for. Plows and survey tools simply weren't the things rough-cut frontier memories were made of. But ascending the Missouri through uncharted territory, hostile Indians, and treacherous mountain passes—these were definitely the ingredients for a colorful batch of mountain memories.

As Clyman set out on his recruiting task, he knew just where to find men tough enough to weather the hazards the mountains would dish out. He would write in his journal that he prowled around the "grog shops and other sinks of degradation." The crew he eventually assembled would, in his view, make Falstaff's Battalion appear "... gentile in comparison."

By the spring of 1823, the new collection of "future mountain men" was prepared to make another expedition. It wouldn't be long before the rugged character of the crew



By Dennis Goodwin
Illustrated by Gary Zaboly

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would be put to the test. Ashley hoped this second expedition would get off to a smoother start. The trip began with a little frontier flourish. As the expedition departed in March of 1823, they fired a small cannon, called a *swivel*, which was answered by a shout from the shore.

Despite Ashley's hopes, the new expedition soon encountered disaster. In June, as they traveled through Nebraska, they were viciously attacked by the Arikara Indians. Before the brief but bloody massacre ended, a dozen of Ashley's men lay dead and eleven were wounded. Still more were missing. One of these was James Clyman. During the battle, he had escaped by leaping into the river.

Clyman swam furiously toward the far bank and discarded his rifle and pistols to stay afloat. When he reached the shore, he turned to find three Indians swimming after him. Clyman would later write that he "concluded to take to the open Pararie [sic] and run for life." He ran for nearly an hour until he found a hiding place in a cluster of tall reeds. Once he was certain he had dodged his pursuers, he made his way toward a distant ridge Before heading down river to join the remainder of the expedition, he stopped to exhibit his frontier spirit. He would write that he showed himself to the Indians and mockingly "made a low bow with both my hand."

Despite this show of bravery, Clyman privately had second thoughts about continuing the expedition. "Before meeting with this defeat," he would add to the day's journal entry, "I think few men had stronger ideas of their bravery and disregard of fear than I had...." But the incident had been more than he had contracted for. The attack, he admitted, had "somewhat cooled my courage."

Clyman's courage apparently warmed again. He stayed with Ashley's group and continued to overcome one challenge after another. Ashley had decided to abandon the river route and try an overland path toward the mountains. In the fall of 1823, he split the group into two parties. They launched their expeditions from Fort Kiowa in present-day South Dakota.

Andrew Henry and his men headed toward the Yellowstone outpost. Along the way, two of the men were killed by Mandan Indians. Once Henry's party reached the Yellowstone outpost, his luck didn't improve much. Most of their horses had been stolen and the Indians weren't bringing furs into the post as he had expected. Although Henry eventually came down the Missouri River with a relatively good catch, the bloodshed and hardship involved turned him away from the mountain life forever.

Jedediah Smith's group, including Clyman, headed west through the Black Hills and then northwest into the Powder River country. Their mission was to establish a trade alliance with the Crow Indians. Like Henry's group, they wouldn't have a smooth path ahead.

According to Clyman's journal, they left Fort Kiowa on the last day of September 1823. They headed toward the Sioux villages at the edge of the Black Hills. On their way through the badlands they nearly died of thirst. Despite the hardship, the little party eventually worked its way into the Black Hills, about a hundred miles east of the Wind River mountain range. Once there, fate didn't exactly favor them. That was the scene of the harrowing grizzly bear attack.

Clyman and the rest of the little group explored the Black Hills for ten days as Jedediah Smith recovered from his wounds. Unfortunately, that incident was not destined to be the last of their challenges. As they worked their way toward Wind River, they ran short of water again. They searched for days before finally locating the precious liquid. When they reached the Wind River range, they encountered another shortage—warmth.

February 1824 was bitterly cold in the mountain range. The group tried to move up the river and cross over the mountains at Union Pass but the snow was too deep. At a Crow Indian village, they learned of a passage at the extreme south end of the mountain range. Although the pass would eventually lead them toward the beaver-rich Green River, reaching it would be no easy matter.

As the frozen little group tried to fight off the sub-zero temperatures with a campfire, it became exceedingly clear how Wind River had inherited its name. The gale-force winds regularly blew out the fire, scattering embers in the snow.

Clyman wrote about a hunting junket he and Milton Sublette made. After the wind had scattered

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their campfire, they lay under their buffalo robes throughout the night waiting for daybreak. When the winds finally slowed, they decided Clyman would rise and gather sagebrush for a new fire. Sublette remained under his buffalo robe, keeping his hands warm so he could strike a fire.

The second Sublette's hands hit the freezing air, they were too numb to hold the steel. As the desperate explorers tried to clutch the icy metal in their paralyzed hands, a glow caught Clyman's eye. A smoldering coal the size of a kernel of corn had somehow survived the frigid night. Tenderly transporting the tiny savior to a bed of kindling, he succeeded in igniting the pile of sagebrush. The sight of the roaring flames was likely the most beautiful scene either had witnessed in some time.

The little group of mountain men finally worked its way southeast down the Wind River until it met the Sweetwater River. Moving east, the men found shelter in a valley. There they waited out the blizzard.

As they trudged west through the snow drifts, the group eventually ran across the pass the Crow Indians had described. A broad, low ridge let them cut across the Rocky Mountains.

This "South Pass" would later become the main crossing point of the Central Rockies. The pass, in the present-day southwestern tip of Wyoming, would eventually lead to the opening of the Oregon Trail.

It looked as if their luck was turning around. They had withstood a ferocious grizzly bear attack as well as a tedious trek without water. And they had survived the bitter cold and scaled the treacherous mountain range. Ahead was the promise of a prolific spring season of fur trapping. Fate, it appeared, was finally on their side. Appearances, however, can be deceiving.

The trapping went well. It was meeting after the trapping that presented the problem. When they had arrived in the Green River area, they split into smaller parties. They agreed to meet about the first of June at an appointed rendezvous on Sweetwater River, east of the South Pass. Clyman, Thomas Fitzpatrick, and two others split off and decided to build two skin canoes in an attempt to float their furs east down the Sweetwater.

As the others set about building the canoes, Clyman began to investigate the potential river path. In the process, he ran across an Indian war party on a summer hunt. He found safety, but as he continued to hide from the war party, Fitzpatrick and the others feared he had been killed by the Indians, and headed down river in the canoes.

When Clyman was finally able to reach the campsite, he waited for twelve days hoping to find a sign of his little group or Jedediah Smith and the others. Eventually he gave up and decided to set out on foot for civilization.

Week after week, he trudged eastward. Along the grueling path he killed a buffalo and dried the meat. During the final days of his solitary journey, he nearly walked in his sleep, often stumbling off the trail in exhaustion. Finally, eighty days later, he came upon an American flag flying over a fort. He collapsed as he reached the entrance. Clyman had covered more than 600 miles from the Sweetwater River, across most of presentday Wyoming and all of Nebraska, to Fort Atkinson.

His companions hadn't fared much better. Their canoes had capsized. Fitzpatrick and the others gathered as many furs as they could and also made the rigorous journey to Fort Atkinson. "They arrived," Clyman recorded in his journal, "in a more pitible [sic] state if possible than myself."

James Clyman had lived more in his first year of exploring than most men do in a lifetime. Throughout the next few years, he continued to lead the rugged life of a mountain man. In the summer of 1825, he participated in the first annual fur-trapper's rendezvous on the Green River. During the next two years, he and William Sublette explored the great Salt Lake. Finally, in 1827, he was ready to leave the mountains.

Clyman piloted a return party to St. Louis, sold his catch, and bought a farm near Danville, Illinois. Within a few years, however, he became restless for a more action-packed life. In 1832, he volunteered to fight in the Black Hawk War. Then settling down again, he and a partner built a sawmill near present-day Milwaukee and he dabbled in land speculation.

But history was not yet through with James Clyman. In 1844, his eyes once again turned westward. He joined a group bound for Oregon. After wintering there, he led a party of immigrants southward over the Umpqua Trail to California. Clyman then joined a group led by Caleb Greenwood. They headed east over the Sierra Nevada range through the newly discovered Hastings Cutoff

Although the Hastings Cutoff was a tempting shortcut, Clyman realized it was extremely dangerous and nearly impassable. He knew the delays it could cause a wagon train. They might not be able to cross the Sierra Nevada range before the treacherous winter snows began. When he reached Fort Laramie, he stayed to warn travelers not to take the shortcut, but to stick instead to the longer but safer northern path through Fort Hall.

All the guides but one heeded his warnings. An impatient group leader named Frazier Reed felt the longer route would simply be a waste of time. Clyman would later recall that Reed told him, "...it is of no use to take so much of a roundabout course." Despite repeated pleas, Clyman was not able to dissuade the stubborn guide. The headstrong Reed then marched off into western history. Following him was his trusting group of anxious immigrants...the Donner party.

James Clyman turned to a life of farming in Napa, California, where he died on December 27, 1881.

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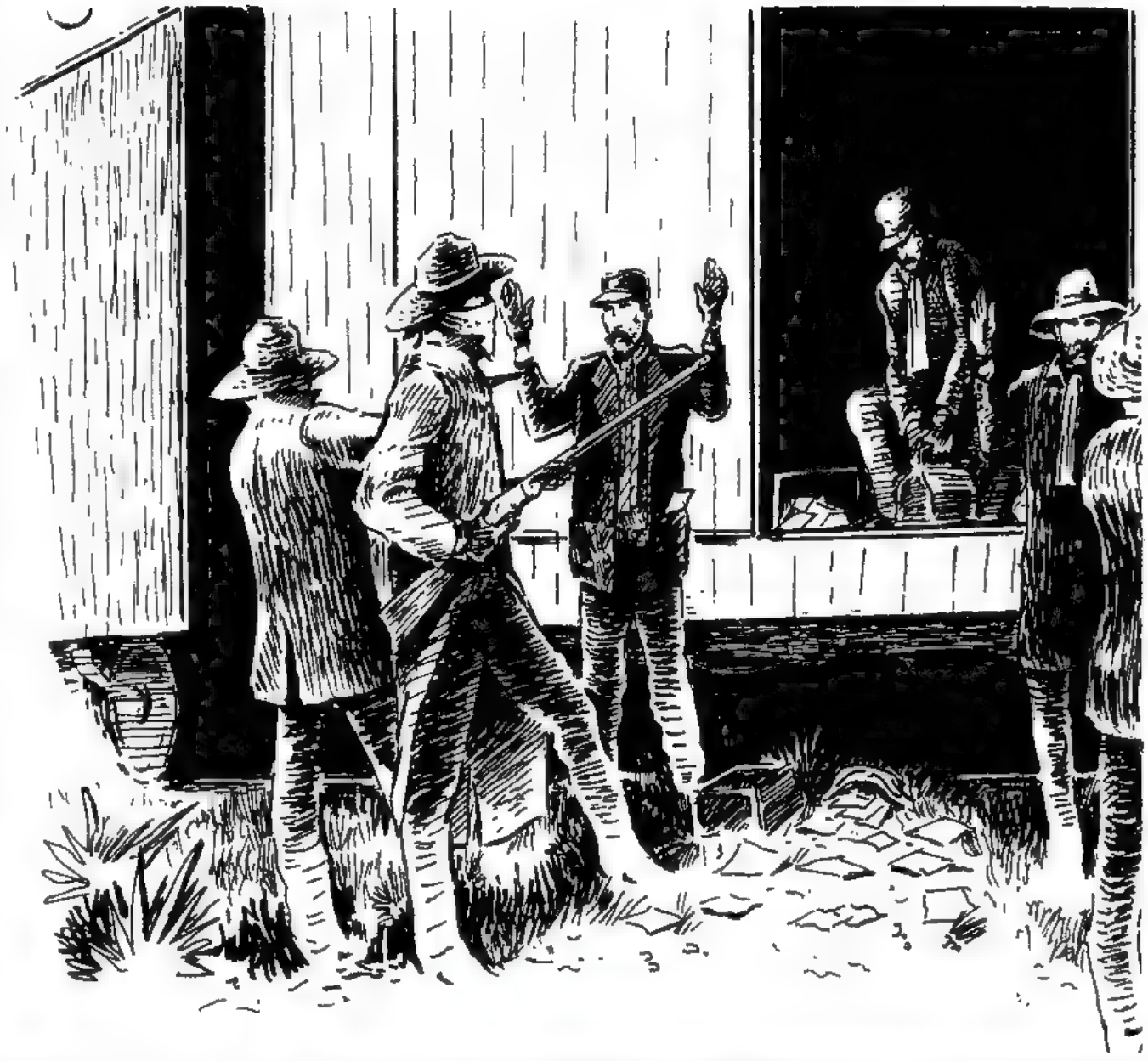
Robbery Along The Great Nor

By Donna B. Ernst
Illustrated by Michael Nunnally



THERN

The Great Northern Railroad Company, organized in 1889, eventually covered over 1,500 miles, a large portion within the state of Montana. James J. Hill, often called the "Empire Builder," headed the railroad construction when a speed record was set for laying track on the section between Fargo, North Dakota, and Helena, Montana.

Unlike many other railroads of the day, the expansion of the Great Northern was accomplished without government land grants or funds. Hill took a great deal of pride in the fact that the growth and wealth resulting from the railroad was in itself enough to cover his costs.

It is doubtful that Hill considered the toll which train robberies eventually took on his line. Two of the more interesting holdups occurred just outside Malta, a small railtown nestled in the middle of Montana's cattle country.

The westbound Express Train Number 23 left St. Paul, Minnesota, on Sunday November 27, 1892, headed for Butte, Montana, with mail and passengers aboard. About 3 AM on Tuesday, November 29, Number 23 made its usual stop in Malta to drop off mail and take on water. Friends Harry Bass, Bill Madden, and Harry Longabaugh (the Sundance Kid) left Alex Black's Saloon and headed for the railroad depot. In the frigid darkness, they silently climbed up on the blind baggage car and waited for the train to leave Malta.

As the train got underway, the engineer and fireman heard a command to slow up and stop near a fire about one mile ahead, which they did. The three masked bandits then ordered the engineer, fireman, brakeman, and Conductor Bywater to disembark and accompany them to the mail car.

Mail Clerk Rawlins opened the car door and suggested that the outlaws wanted the safes in the express car instead. Rawlins joined the group of railroad men being held by one of the outlaws beside the tracks. The other two outlaws then ordered Express Messenger Jerry Hauert to open the safes. The small, local safe contained $19.20 cash, two small paychecks totaling $6.50, and a couple of packages of unknown value which the thieves quickly gathered.

Hauert stated that he didn't know the combination on the larger "through" safe, and the outlaws were apparently unprepared to blast it open. Although undoubtedly cold and frustrated, the thieves did not harm any of the passengers or railroad employees. Instead, one report claimed they offered the trainmen a drink before they jumped off the train and escaped.

The telegraph wire read, "Express car on No. 23 entered by robbers just west of Malta. Little of value taken. Nothing done to molest passengers." Great Northern Superintendent J.A. Mayer offered an immediate reward of $500 for each of the outlaws and sent company detective W. Black to investigate the holdup. Montana's governor promptly matched the railroad's reward offer.

One newspaper of the day commented on the inexperience of the outlaws, having chosen an express passenger train which left St. Paul on a Sunday as opposed to a business day. They further commented on the outlaws' acceptance of the express messenger's word for not knowing the combination to the safe. The article closed, however, in a commendation. It was noted that the weather was well below zero and therefore the outlaws' efforts would have been quite "praiseworthy in a better cause."

Still broke, and apparently unaware of the combined $3,000 reward on their heads, Madden, Bass, and Longabaugh returned to Malta. Two days later, on December 1, Detective Black formed a small posse with Sheriff Hamilton of Cascade County, Sheriff B.F. O'Neal of Choteau County, and Under-Sheriff Matthews and Harry Lund of Valley County.

Together, the posse walked into Alex Black's Saloon about 10 PM

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that night and arrested Harry Bass and Bill Madden. A short time later, Alex Black and Harry Longabaugh were both arrested as they boarded an eastbound train. Longabaugh gave his name as J.E. Thibadoe, and Madden claimed to be William Hunt.

Conductor Bywater returned to Malta and identified the men as the outlaws, who were then taken to Helena to stand trial. Bass and Madden were tried, found guilty, and sentenced to ten and fourteen years respectively in the Deer Lodge Penitentiary. During the trial, both Bass and Madden implicated Longabaugh as being the third outlaw, but there is no record that he was ever brought to trial. Since Alex Black was released for lack of evidence, possibly Longabaugh was also.

Logan immediately fired off the rounds in his gun and handed it to Smith with a "Thanks for your help."

As inept and small as this first Great Northern holdup was, a second train robbery occurred outside Malta which proved to be the last hurrah for the Wild Bunch, an outlaw band which had successfully hit a number of railroads

Soon after the Fort Worth Five portrait was taken in 1900, the Wild Bunch broke up. Butch Cassidy and Longabaugh headed south to Argentina; Will Carver was shot by Sheriff Lige Bryant in Sonora, Texas.

Harvey Logan, alias Kid Curry, and Ben Kilpatrick had to rebuild the gang. They immediately recruited O.C. "Deaf Charlie" Camilla Hanks, who was released on May 30, 1901, from the penitentiary in Deer Lodge, where he had been jailed on a train robbery conviction.

Logan had once ranched in nearby Landusky, Montana, and knew the range around Malta quite well. The gang decided to hold up the Great Northern westbound Coast Flyer Number 3 between Wagner and Malta, and to make their escape through the Missouri River Breaks near Logan's old ranch.

The Number 3 stopped in Malta about 1:30 PM on July 3, 1901. Kilpatrick purchased a ticket and boarded the train. Just as the train pulled out of the station, the conductor noticed Logan sneak onto the tender car. He quickly pulled the emergency stop cord, but the outlaw moved faster. Logan crawled over the tender and into the engine cab, aimed his gun at Engineer T. Jones and Fireman M. O'Neill, and ordered them to keep moving until they had reached the Exeter Creek Bridge, between Wagner and Malta.

Meanwhile, when the train failed to stop, the conductor ran through the passenger cars towards the engine. He noticed Brakeman Woodside and Sheriff Griffith of Great Falls along the way and enlisted their aid, but Kilpatrick saw the trio with guns drawn and fired a couple of warning shots at them. Woodside was hit in the shoulder, and the men quickly retreated

At the Exeter Creek Bridge, Hanks was waiting for the train to stop and began firing past the passenger cars to keep curious heads inside. Kilpatrick joined Hanks outside, and some of their shots ricocheted, slightly injuring two passengers, A.W Douglas and Gertrude M. Smith.

Before anyone else was hurt, Logan had Engineer Jones disconnect the baggage and express cars and pull across the bridge. He then ordered Mail Clerk J. Martin and Express Messenger C.H. Smith out of the cars before he set the dynamite. Fireman O'Neill was told to hold the bag of extra dynamite in between the three attempts to blow open the safe

Once the safe was opened, the outlaws withdrew a bag of silver coins, a package of watches, and about $40,000 in unsigned banknotes drawn on the Helena National Bank. Logan also spotted a bolt of green silk fabric which he took to give to a friend's wife.

As the outlaws gathered the loot, Express Messenger Smith asked Logan for a souvenir of the holdup. Logan immediately fired off the rounds in his gun and handed it to Smith with a "Thanks for your help."

Hanks and Kilpatrick suddenly noticed a rider nearby. Local sheepherder John Cunningham had heard Logan's gunfire, realized what was happening, and raced towards Malta to sound the alarm. The outlaws fired after him but only managed to nick his horse's hip.

The gang escaped southwest across the Milk River and headed for a hideout in the Missouri Breaks near Logan's Landusky Ranch. Cunningham reached Malta, reported the holdup, and returned to the robbery site with a small posse. However, the posse spent so much time examining the robbery site that the outlaws had more than enough time to escape and cover their route.

Logan, Hanks, and Kilpatrick remained safely hidden, divided the stolen money, and rested up while Sheriff Griffith and the townsmen of Malta and Glasgow criticized each other's efforts in tracking down the outlaws. By the end of July, the posse had all but disbanded.

Kilpatrick and Hanks returned to Texas, but Logan had one more chore to do in Montana. After visiting his ex-ranch partner, Jim Thornhill, he presented the stolen bolt of green material to Jim's common-law wife, Lulubelle. He also kept an old promise to her.

Back in 1896, Lulubelle had been living with Logan's brother John. Together John and Lulubelle had filed on the small ranch, but it was contested by a squatter named Jim Winters.

When John was murdered, Winters was immediately suspected, and now Logan sought retribution.

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On the morning of July 26, 1901, Winters was murdered outside his cabin. Logan left Montana on the same day, never to return.

The Great Northern railroad pursued all leads on the outlaws. Lists were made identifying every missing banknote by number and denomination, and mailed to banks in a number of large cities, As much as $5,000 in reward money was offered by both the railroad and the state, and wanted posters soon spread throughout the entire country.

On October 14, 1901, Harvey Logan's girlfriend Annie Rogers was arrested in Nashville, Tennessee, and held for possession of stolen property. She had tried to exchange $500 in forged banknotes at the Fourth National Bank, but a teller became suspicious and called police. Rogers was later acquitted as an unwitting participant in Logan's plans.

By October 28, D. Boone Kilpatrick, Ben's brother, was arrested in Sheffield, Texas, on charges of passing three $10 bills from the holdup. He was later released due to lack of evidence.

Ben took his common-law wife, Laura Bullion, to St. Louis, Missouri, for a free-spending honeymoon, where on November 5, detectives traced some of the stolen money to "Mr. and Mrs. John Arnold" at the Laclede Hotel.

Ben and Laura were both arrested for passing forged Helena National Bank bills. She was eventually sentenced to five years in the Missouri State Penitentiary. Kilpatrick received a sentence of fifteen years in the Ohio Penitentiary at Columbus.

Logan and Hanks still held about $10,000 and headed for Knoxville, Tennessee, where they knew someone who might be able to help them dispose of the hot money. But following a saloon fight, Logan was captured on December 15, 1901. After a very lenghty trial, he was found guilty and sentenced to twenty years in the penitentiary at Columbus, Ohio.

With Logan in jail, Hanks returned again to San Antonio, Texas. On the evening of October 22, 1902, he got roaring drunk at Flo Williams' whorehouse. Sheriff Pink Taylor was summoned, and he shot and killed Hanks

Logan escaped from the Knoxville jail on June 27, 1903, shortly before the authorities could transfer him to the penitentiary. During a botched escape from a train robbery near Parachute, Colorado, on June 7, 1904, Logan was wounded and committed suicide.

The Great Northern railroad was able to reclaim a large portion of the money stolen during the Wagner holdup. The outlaws were all caught, and train robberies were attempted less often because of the railroad's success in tracking down the thieves.

Today the Great Northern, having merged with the Northern Pacific, is known as the Burlington Northern railroad. Their bright green cars rumble through Malta daily, right past the sites of the town's two famous train robberies.

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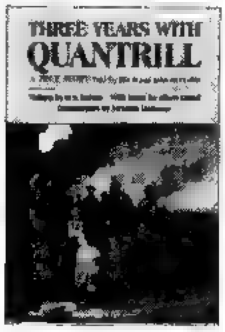

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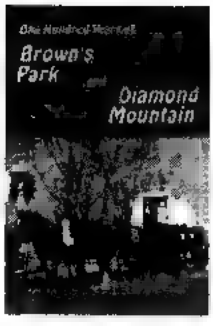

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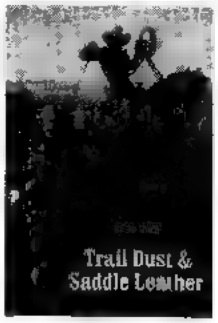

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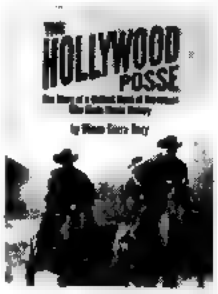

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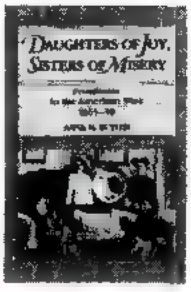

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The Holliday Family Perspective

Doc Holliday: A Family Portrait. By Karen Holliday Tanner. (University of Oklahoma Press, 1005 Asp Avenue, Norman, OK 73019. 368 pages, 51 illustrations, 10 maps, 3 charts, notes, bibliography, and index. $28.95 Cloth.)

When biographers have addressed John Henry "Doc" Holliday, they have stumbled. In dealing with Doc, there are numerous daunting obstacles. Old timers' tales are often untrustworthy. The literature is peppered with false memoirs. Contemporary newspaper accounts can be biased and/or spotty in coverage. Apparently none of Doc's own letters have survived to offer the clear sense of his own idiomatic voice. Despite these difficulties, Karen Tanner has rendered a book with something new to say. *Doc Holliday: A Family Portrait* presents the vision of Doc passed down through generations of the Holliday family. Mrs. Tanner is the great-granddaughter of Robert A. Holliday, first cousin to the notorious Doc.

Tanner's book can be divided into two sections. Doc's early years, ending with his departure for Texas, comprise the first part. The second part follows Doc's western wanderings up to his death in 1887. Because of Mrs. Tanner's family member status, her more valuable contribution, understandably, concerns the earlier period.

The account of Doc's early life offers some surprises. Tanner tells how John Henry, as he was called, was born with a cleft-palate which was surgically remedied when the baby was a mere eight weeks old. Later speech therapy was required for the young lad to gain clear articulation. Critics may arise, however, to dispute these claims as infant photos reveal no discernible scarring of baby Doc's lip.

Through the 1850s and 1860s the specter of death hovers ominously over the Holliday family. Family members seem constantly to be dying off. Combined with the urgent upheavals and uncertainties of the Civil War, John Henry's early years are rife with insecurity, save for the over-protective hovering of his mother. Her death, when the boy was fifteen, followed by the impetuous remarriage of Doc's father, Henry, a mere three months later, would seem to have provoked both a rebellious independence and a premature fatalism in the youth.

It is difficult to criticize Tanner's account of Doc's early years. Anyone interested in Doc Holliday owes Mrs. Tanner a debt of gratitude for conveying the private family recollections onto the public historical record. It is hoped, however, that facsimile reproductions of the memoirs Tanner relies on will be offered to researchers in the future. Usually these recollections are paraphrased rather than quoted in length. Also, at times, important statements are made which aren't footnoted. This makes it difficult to know who or what that particular source would be. No one who writes about Doc, in the future, can afford to ignore what Mrs. Tanner has given us and the original sources thus gain a special import for scholars.

Unfortunately, when Doc heads west there is an uneven quality to Mrs. Tanner's coverage. Here she enjoys no special access to sources except for some second-hand recall of Doc's letters to family members. Happily, she does provide new information on Doc in Texas, for instance that he lived for a time in Denison and that in 1877 he was wounded in a shooting scrape in Breckenridge. When Doc reaches Tombstone, however, Tanner's reading of the historical record leads to some unfortunate claims indeed. Since Doc Holliday's main claim to fame rests on his part in the Tombstone war, this is especially unsettling.

A prime question facing historians today is when exactly Doc Holliday was first implicated in the attempted Benson stage holdup of March 15, 1881. Tanner follows the secondary literature in citing the Tombstone *Nugget* of March 19, 1881, in its account of the escape of suspected robber Luther King. This version contains the statement "He [King] was an important witness against Holliday."

There are several problems with the purported news account. First of all, Luther King wasn't incarcerated until March 21, and didn't escape till March 28. The March 19 date Tanner cites is bogus. This bogus citation first appeared in Billy Breakenridge's 1928 book *Helldorado* and has been uncritically repeated in virtually every book on Tombstone since then. Even Stuart Lake used it. Since no copies of the actual *Nugget* issue covering the King escape seem to have survived, Breakenridge instead cited the *Tucson Weekly Star* reprint of March 24. This date is also incorrect. *The Star* reprint actually appeared on March 31. Copies of that issue do still exist and remarkably, the Holliday statement is conspicuously absent. Apparently, that sentence was a later interpolation added by Breakenridge or his ghostwriter, William MacLeod Raine.

The whole arc of our understanding of the situation leading up to the so-called O.K. Corral gunfight is affected by this point. If Holliday was not accused of involvement in the holdup until after Wyatt Earp approached Ike Clanton to help get the suspects, Earp's motivation in making the deal takes on a signifi-

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cantly new slant.

Is there any evidence that Doc Holliday was, in fact, charged with the holdup before June of 1881 when Earp approached Clanton? Tanner says there is. She cites the April 13, 1881, charge against Holliday in Judge Wallace's court for "threats against life" and for "attempting to kill a saloon-keeper who objected to his presence in the house." Mrs. Tanner claims that "When [Milt] Joyce called Doc a stage robber, Doc took offense and a scuffle ensued." This isn't a new assertion. Pat Jahns came up with it for her book, *The Frontier World of Doc Holliday*. The trouble is, not a shred of evidence was offered by Jahns to support it.

Most likely, the Wallace court hearing stemmed from Milt Joyce reviving charges against Doc from their altercation of October 11, 1880. Tanner covers that incident in her book but never considers the possibility that the Wallace hearing may have issued from that earlier event. No evidence has surfaced of any second Holliday-Joyce imbroglio.

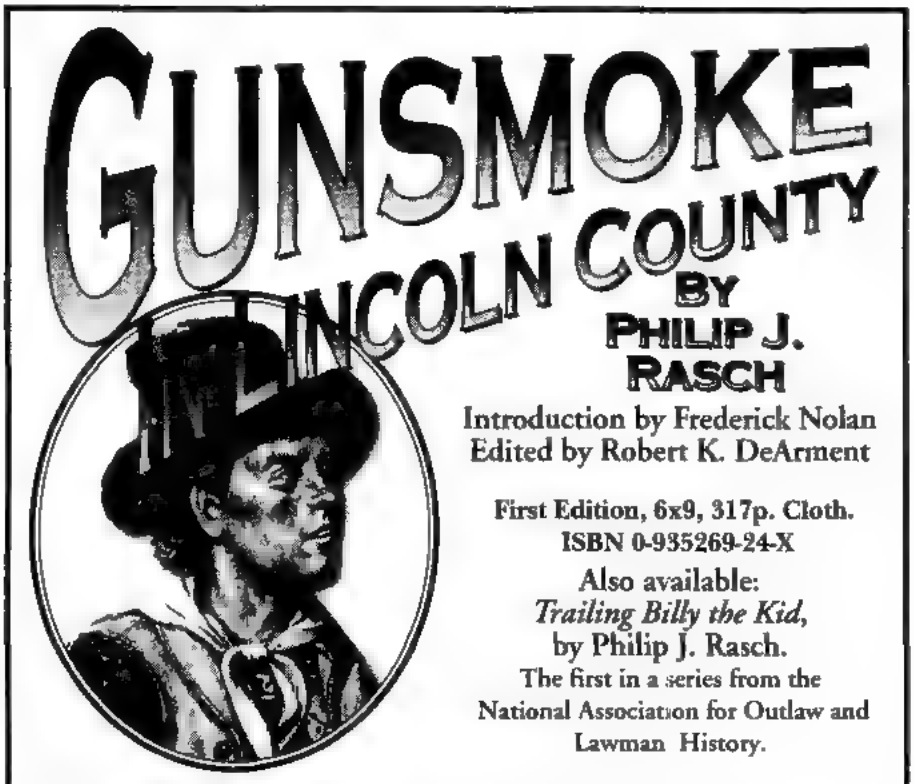
Tanner next says a May 27 indictment against Doc in Judge Stilwell's court "stemmed from the Kinnar stage robbery attempt...." Again, substantiation is lacking. That Holliday would have been so charged without press coverage defies comprehension. But the papers did cover the story. The May 30 *Epitaph* carried: "Doc Holliday has been indicted by the Grand Jury on account of participation in a shooting affray some time since. He was released on bonds." If Doc had indeed been indicted for the attempted holdup, this account makes no sense. Two men on the Kinnar stage were killed. The charge facing Doc would have been murder and such a charge would not have been so easily continued.

Mrs. Tanner's confusions about Doc's springtime court hearings are easily explained by long-standing misunderstandings evident in the abundant secondary literature on this subject. The same cannot be said about her handling of the killing of "Old Man" Clanton, who she surprisingly asserts met his end at the hands of the Earps and Doc Holliday.

Mrs. Tanner offers not a shred of evidence to support her thesis that the Earps and Holliday committed the ambush.

Mrs. Tanner claims that after the ambush, "Warren Earp disappeared from Tombstone. When he returned he walked 'lame from the effects of a gun-shot wound.'" Again, her citation bewilders. She refers to the *Gunnison News Democrat* of June 4, 1882. While that paper does describe Warren as limping from the effects of a bullet, this is ten full months after the "Old Man" Clanton killing.

The final questionable handling of evidence which I would like to consider in this review involves the death of John Ringo. Mrs. Tanner categorically states that in Pueblo, Colorado, on July 11, 1882, "attorney W.G. Hollings...appeared in court on behalf of his client, the absent J.H. Holliday." Since I am neither a lawyer nor versed in 19



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century jurisprudence, I asked Karen Tanner to provide copies of the actual court records which determined her interpretation. This question is important relative to Ringo's death because Holliday's alleged involvement in that incident becomes highly unlikely as he is shown to be in Pueblo a mere two days earlier.

I provided the copies which Mrs. Tanner graciously sent me to John E. Boessenecker, who is both an attorney and a recognized scholar on the Old West. Mr. Boessenecker's views are as follows:

> The entry states that "the said defendant in his own proper person as well as by his counsel, W.G. Hollons, Esq., also comes and being ready to plead the indictment said defendant says he is not guilty...." This could not be any clearer. Holliday appeared in court with his lawyer and pled not guilty. You will note the following cause in the docket book, People v. William Harvey, uses the identical language to show that defendant Harvey was present in court with his lawyer to be tried for assault with intent to rape. A defendant cannot be tried in absentia; Harvey was present for his trial, just as Holliday was present the same day.

Mrs. Tanner's interpretation of the Pueblo hearing is, at worst, wrongheaded and, at best, nowhere near as clear-cut as her book contends.

Despite serious disagreement with Karen Tanner on key matters, I hope this book will be well received. Enough new material is served up in *Doc Holliday: A Family Portrait* that anyone interested in the subject would definitely benefit by studying it. It reads smoothly and is obviously a labor of love. Yet this most signficant book on Doc Holliday is unfortunately tainted by some perplexing lapses of critical judgment.—*Jeff Morey, Long Beach, California.*

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ANSWER MAN BY CHUCK PARSONS

J.W. Olinger

Ronald Buermeier, Cincinnati, Ohio, wants information about John Wallace Olinger, the "New Mexico law officer who helped bring law and order to New Mexico in the Lincoln County War."

J.W. Olinger was a brother to Robert Olinger, the last victim of Billy the Kid. I doubt if anyone could confirm that J.W. really brought much law and order to Lincoln County, certainly no more than Robert did, and his contribution is questionable.

The Olingers were natives of Indiana, as the 1850 Indiana census shows William and Rebecca Olinger living in Carroll County, Indiana, with two children: John, two years old, and Robert, four months old. Also in the household were Urilla Robinson and Rebecca Olinger, natives of Ohio. Urilla was perhaps a younger sister of Rebecca, suggesting Rebecca's maiden name was also Robinson. Possibly William Olinger died fairly young, as there is a story that the Olinger brothers ended up in Indian Territory with their mother, identified as a Mrs. Stafford.

According to Frederick Nolan's research, John Wallace Olinger was born at Delphi, Indiana, on May 3, 1849. The trail is virtually non-existent until he is an adult, showing up as a buffalo hunter. Why and exactly when he ended up in Lincoln County is uncertain, but by the 1870s he was running a ranch with William H. Johnson near Seven Rivers.

Did he contribute to law and order? It depends on how you look at that. He was a member of the large posse which ran down John H. Tunstall on February 18, 1878. Three members of the posse have been identified as the trigger men who shot Tunstall and his horse: Jessie Evans, William Morton, and Frank Baker.

On April 30, John Olinger was in the posse which killed Frank MacNab and seriously wounded Albert Sanders. He and brother Bob were also in the group which surrounded the McSween home and burned it during the "Five Day Battle." According to Philip Rasch, J.W. fired the shot that killed McSween as he attempted escape. Since Billy the Kid was in the burning home, we can assume that if he and the Olingers were not enemies before, then this was reason enough for enmity to begin.

On August 17, 1878, Henry M. Beckwith shot and killed son-in-law William H. Johnson at the Seven Rivers ranch. Beckwith was then wounded by John W. Olinger. No trial resulted from this shooting.

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Olinger later married Johnson's widow, Camelia, but they separated after some thirty years of marriage. J.W. Olinger then drifted to California where he worked as a gardener in Santa Monica. He died in Valley View Sanitarium at Van Nuys, California, on February 25, 1940. Apparently no one ever bothered to record his version of the Lincoln County War.

The third collection of articles by the late Philip Rasch, *Warriors of Lincoln County*, will be released by the National Association for Outlaw and Lawman History and Western Publications later this year.

Allison Family

I have been corresponding for some time with Clara H. Miller of Norwalk, California, concerning noted gunman Clay Allison.

In spite of my own research on Allison, I need some reader help with Clara's question: Who were the grandparents of Clay Allison?

We know his parents were Jeremiah S. and Mariah Allison, both born in Tennessee. The Wayne County, Tennessee, census of 1860 records that the Allison family had grown to include six children, all born in Tennessee.

Unfortunately I have no information as to the parents of Jeremiah and Mariah. James Browning did travel to Clifton, Tennessee, and found many Allison graves. Many of the headstones were illegible.

Limpy Jim Smith

Sharon Cunningham of the Dixie Gun Works in Union City, Tennessee, needs some information on one of the Henry Plummer gang by the name of "Limpy Jim" Smith. The little bit of information gathered on this character indicates that he was a Montana road agent who turned up on the buffalo range.

There is a possibility that Daniel "Curly" Smith and "Limpy" were one and the same. Curly Smith tried to rob a man at Grass Valley, California, in January 1863. He was fatally stabbed by the would-be vic-

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tim. Could this be the same man or a different Smith? Hopefully our readers can help solve this mystery.

Roy Means

Mike Varajon, a reader from West Palm Beach, Florida, inquires about a man named "Means." He has in his collection an old Smith & Wesson revolver which was found "buried in a vacant lot" on Fremont Street, across from the O.K. Corral in Tombstone. The revolver bears the serial number 56041 on the butt, cylinder, barrel, and barrel catch. Smith & Wesson factory records indicate the pistol was shipped on October 10, 1881, to their largest distributor, M.W. Robinson of New York City.

Scratched into the underside of the grip strap to the rear of the trigger housing is the name "Roy Means."

As yet the only "Means" I have located is a Maurice Means whose name appears in the *Great Register* for Tombstone. He was there during the 1880s. This Maurice may or may not be the same as Roy Means. If a reader has an index to the 1880 Arizona census the name might be found therein.

Remembering Ringo

Henry G. Cox of Omaha, Washington, is nearly ninety-six years old and has "read *True West, Frontier Times, Old West* for years. Really do enjoy the tales about the days gone by. I received a copy of Dave Johnson's book *John Ringo* for Christmas.... It reminded me of a tale my grandmother Cox told me when I was about eight years old.

"My grandparents Charles Simms and Martha Angeline (Couts) Cox lived in Mason, Texas, before, during and after the Mason County War.

"Grandma told me they liked John Ringo, a pleasant, polite and fun-loving young man. Grandad Cox met John and a friend at the bend of the river near Mason. He noticed one horse had been stolen. He told those two boys to head west and keep going and get rid of the horses. They took him at his word and left.

"Grandpa Cox did not believe in the action of the lynch mob and the fellows who condoned and egged-on the lynching. He told his wife, 'Had I brought those boys in to Mason they would have hung them. Then I would have been as bad as the rest of the mob.'"

The lynching Mr. Cox is referring to is probably the action on February 18, 1875, when the mob took several prisoners from the Mason jail to murder them: Elijah and Pete Backus and Abe Wiggins were hanged. Thanks to Ranger Dan Roberts and a few good citizens, the work of the mob was interrupted and prisoners Tom Turley and Charley Johnson escaped.

Thanks much to Mr. Cox for this reminiscence!

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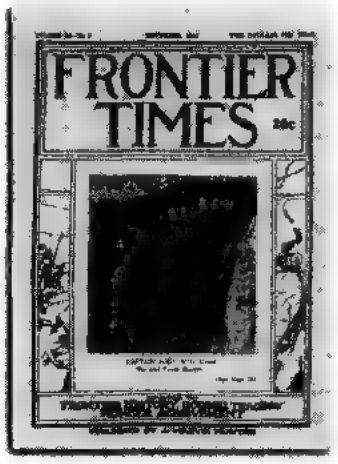

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BILL DOOLIN'S *Midnight Ride*

BY ARTHUR SHOEMAKER

She never knew Bill Doolin. In fact, Bea Freeman Lindsey never met the noted Oklahoma Territory outlaw. All she ever confessed knowing about him was what little she read in books and what her father told her many years later. By then she was a young woman and Doolin had long been dead. Banks, express companies, railroads, and lawmen knew Doolin as the leader of a bold outlaw gang. His wife knew him as a devoted husband and father. His friends knew him as a man who could be counted on in a pinch. This was the Doolin remembered by the Freeman family.

The road which led him to the 3D Ranch and the Freeman family was long, torturous, and years in the making. It might be said that Doolin started this journey the day he was hired by Oscar Halsell to work on his HH ranch, headquartered east of Guthrie along the Cimarron River.

Halsell's vast herds roamed over 10,000 acres of fine native grassland in a beautiful valley called "Cowboy Flat" by the local cattlemen.

It is said that Halsell met Doolin in Caldwell, Kansas, and hired him to do carpenter work at the ranch headquarters. He was likable, a quick learner, and soon turned into a top hand. Earning Halsell's trust, Bill was often left in charge when the boss was away on business. At the time, Halsell's crew was made up of sixteen-year-old Furd Halsell, H.H. Halsell, Mat Laughlin, Dick

Author's Collection

Dr. S.G. Kennedy.

IN THE JULY ISSUE OF *TRUE WEST*:

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Author's Collection

John Freeman.

West, Zin Fitzgerald, and Doolin.

In 1888 it was decided that the surplus lands assigned to the United States by the Creeks and Seminoles, known as the Oklahoma lands, would be opened for settlement in the spring of 1889. All cattlemen leasing land in this area were ordered to move their herds. This forced the ranchers to either sell their cattle, or start looking for new grazing land. With a sell-off, many working cowhands were left jobless, forcing them to become a restless breed wandering from job to job. Some of them found that following the owlhoot trail was more profitable than following a cow for a living.

It was while working at Cowboy Flat that Doolin became acquainted with most of the cowboys who later became territorial outlaws: Little Dick West, Bill Dalton, Bitter Creek Newcomb, Bill Raidler, Dick Broadwell, and Bill Powers.

Tom Waggoner, of another well-known Texas ranching family, had herds in both the Oklahoma lands and the over-crowded Cherokee Outlet. Looking to the Osage Reservation east of the Arkansas River, Waggoner took out a lease with A.W. Hoots, an inter-married Osage rancher, for grazing rights on 60,000 acres of grassland. In the spring of 1889, Waggoner drove 15,000 head of cattle from the Otoe

Author's Collection

Bea Freeman Lindsey.

Reservation across the Arkansas River onto the Osage Reservation. This is how the famous 3D brand (with three backward D's) came to the Osage country

Meanwhile, with an increase in demand for grazing rights on the reservation, Osage Agent H.H. Freeman, at Pawhuska, saw the need to hire additional men for the Indian Police Service to protect the rights of the Osage Indians. He sent word to a relative, John L. Freeman, to come and join the service. His duties would be to check on grazing leases and to collect the one dollar-per-month per family fee required of non-Indian people living on the reservation.

Along with his wife and two young daughters, Ola, age two, and Bea, only a baby, Freeman made the move from Jasper County, Missouri, to the headquarters of the 3D Ranch on Wildhorse Creek. This was the only suitable habitation for his family from which he could carry out his duties. As time went by, Freeman also took over as foreman of the 3D.

"I can barely remember my father talking about those days and the different cowboys," said Bea Lindsey. "However, I still have some antlers from a deer killed the day before Oklahoma Statehood. A cowboy brought it to the ranch house on his pony.

"It was wide open country and men were always coming by. If father needed some help, he put them to work. Bill Doolin must have been one of them. Just across the Arkansas River from our place was the Bar X Bar ranch in that eastern portion of Pawnee County called the Triangle country. This was land not allotted to any tribe. Papa said the cowboys from both places worked together during roundup."

Apparently, Doolin was no stranger at the 3D. He was a fair-to-middling carpenter and there were always fences to mend or barns to repair, so Bill earned his keep, no questions asked.

After many years, Bea could still remember what she was told about her illness and the part played by Bill Doolin.

"Father said I had a fever which wouldn't go down. He decided to make the forty-mile ride to Tulsa and bring back the doctor. It was late in the afternoon when he made ready to go. Doolin saw him saddling a horse and asked if Papa was going for the doctor. Told that Papa was going, Doolin volunteered to go instead. Papa was needed at home.

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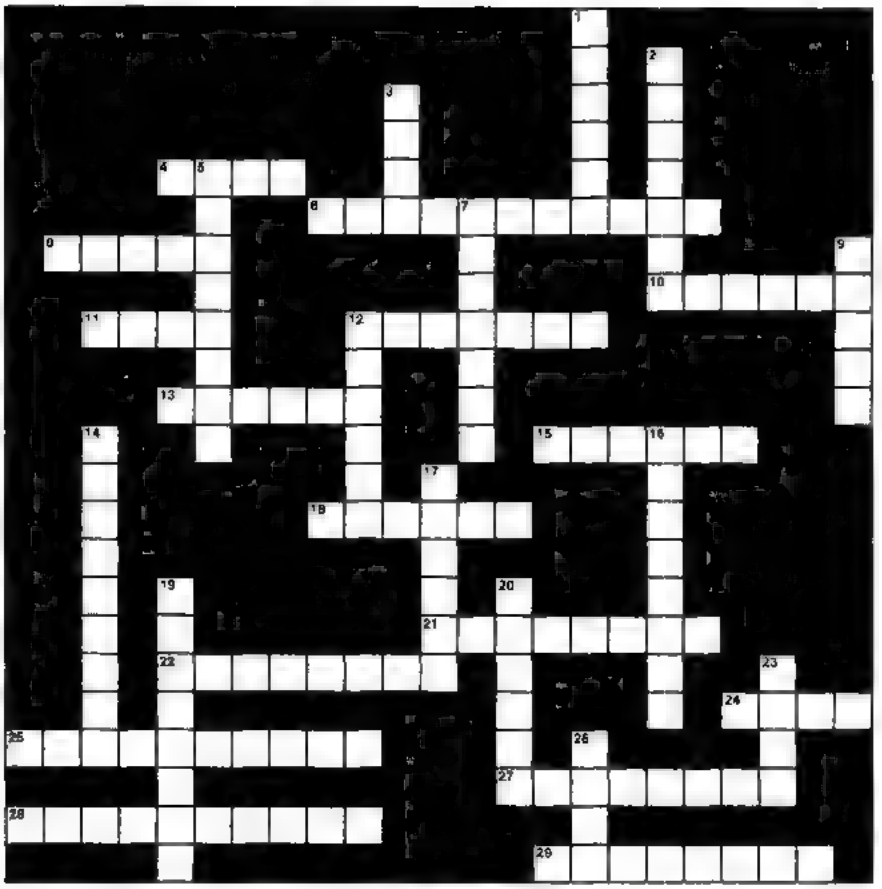

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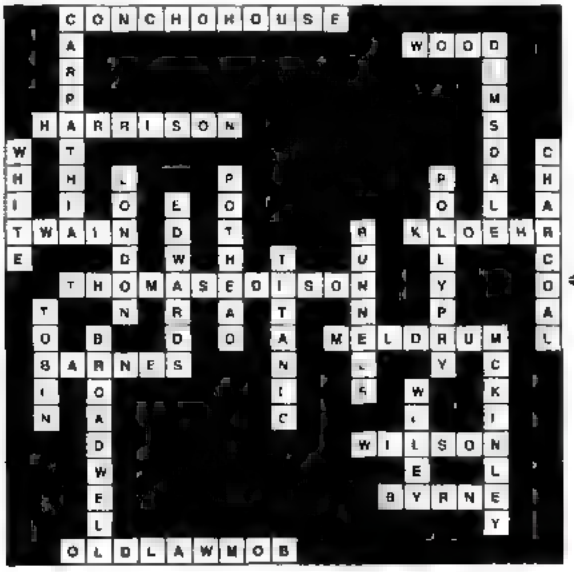

Solution in next month's True West.

Solution to last month's puzzle.

"Shortly after daylight, Doolin arrived in Tulsa which, at that time, was just a small cow town nestled on the north side of a wide bend of the Arkansas River. He made his way to the home of Dr. S.G. Kennedy and pounded on the door until someone answered. Explaining his mission, Doolin was told to return in forty-five minutes and he could escort the doctor back to the ranch.

"Going to a livery stable, Doolin purchased feed for his horse and wiped him down with some empty gunny sacks. He then went to Sam Ching's restaurant for breakfast. At the appointed time, he rode back to the doctor's house and helped hitch up his buggy. It was a long, bumpy ride back to the ranch, but Dr. Kennedy pulled up to the house by himself.

"Papa asked the doctor if he had come out alone? 'No,' Doctor Kennedy said. 'Doolin was with me until we got close and he spotted riders coming in from the west. Uncertain as to their identity, he told me to go on alone as he didn't want to cause trouble at the ranch. We shook hands and he rode off.'"

Doolin never returned to the 3D. His more desperate outlaw days lay ahead. He was killed August 24, 1896, by a posse led by Deputy United States Marshal Heck Thomas. It was suspected, at the time, that Doolin was attempting to flee the country with his wife and child.

After twelve years on the 3D Ranch, John Freeman moved his family into the southern Osage County town of Hominy where he served temporarily as a deputy U.S. marshal. Afterwards he went into private business.

Bea married an attorney named P.D. Lindsey and they, too, settled in Hominy. They had no children. Bea died in 1971 at the age of eighty. Though she was fiercely proud of her pioneer heritage, she rarely spoke of Bill Doolin and his midnight ride.

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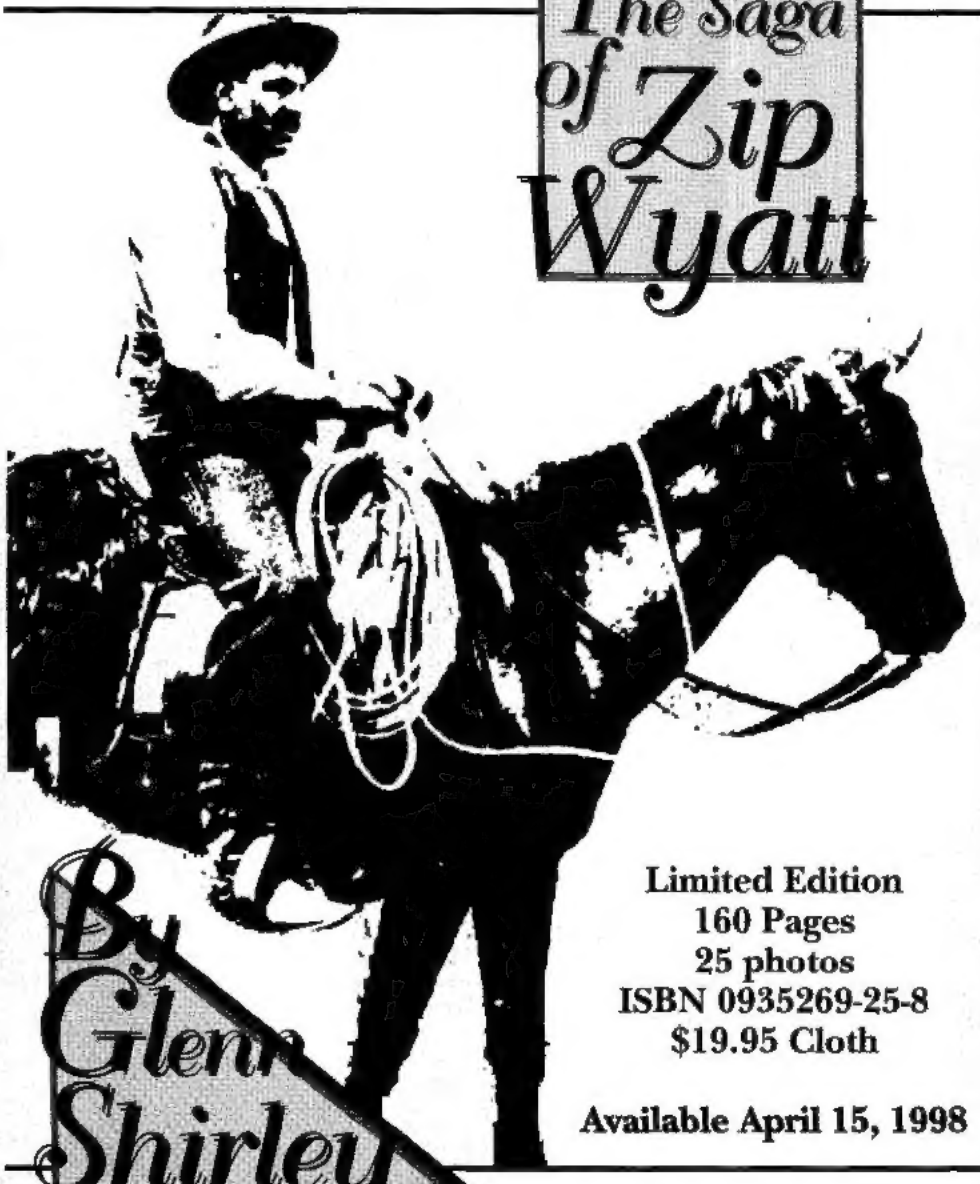

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